SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM.

THE SWASTIKA,

THE EARLIEST KNOWN SYMBOL, AND ITS MIGRATIONS; WITH OBSERVATIONS ON THE MIGRATION OF CERTAIN INDUSTRIES IN PREHISTORIC TIMES.

BY

THOMAS WILSON,
Curator, Department of Prehistoric Anthropology,
U. S. National Museum.

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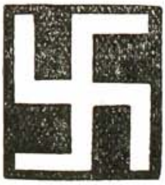

By THOMAS WILSON,
Curator, Department of Prehistoric Anthropology, U. S. National Museum.

PREFACE.

An English gentleman, versed in prehistoric archæology, visited me in the summer of 1894, and during our conversation asked if we had the Swastika in America. I answered, "Yes," and showed him two or three specimens of it. He demanded if we had any literature on the subject. I cited him De Mortillet, De Morgan, and Zmigrodzki, and he said, "No, I mean English or American." I began a search which proved almost futile, as even the word Swastika did not appear in such works as Worcester's or Webster's dictionaries, the Encyclopædic Dictionary, the Encyclopædia Britannica, Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia, the People's Cyclopædia, nor Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, his Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, or his Classical Dictionary. I also searched, with the same results, Mollett's Dictionary of Art and Archæology, Fairholt's Dictionary of Terms in Art, "L'Art Gothique," by Gonza, Perrot and Chipiez's extensive histories of Art in Egypt, in Chaldea and Assyria, and in Phenicia; also "The Cross, Ancient and Modern," by W. W. Blake, "The History of the Cross," by John Ashton; and a reprint of a Dutch work by Wildener. In the American Encyclopædia the description is erroneous, while all the Century Dictionary says is, "Same as fylfot," and "Compare *Crux Ansata* and *Gammadion*." I thereupon concluded that this would be a good subject for presentation to the Smithsonian Institution for "diffusion of knowledge among men."

The principal object of this paper has been to gather and put in a compact form such information as is obtainable concerning the Swastika, leaving to others the task of adjustment of these facts and their arrangement into an harmonious theory. The only conclusion sought to be deduced from the facts stated is as to the possible migration in prehistoric times of the Swastika and similar objects.

No conclusion is attempted as to the time or place of origin, or the primitive meaning of the Swastika, because these are considered to be lost in antiquity. The straight line, the circle, the cross, the triangle, are simple forms, easily made, and might have been invented and re-invented in every age of primitive man and in every quarter of the globe, each time being an independent invention, meaning much or little, meaning different things among different peoples or at different times among the same people; or they may have had no settled or definite meaning. But the Swastika was probably the first to be made with a definite intention and a continuous or consecutive meaning, the knowledge of which passed from person to person, from tribe to tribe, from people to people, and from nation to nation, until, with possibly changed meanings, it has finally circled the globe.

There are many disputable questions broached in this paper. The author is aware of the differences of opinion thereon among learned men, and he has not attempted to dispose of these questions in the few sentences employed in their announcement. He has been conservative and has sought to avoid dogmatic decisions of controverted questions. The antiquity of man, the locality of his origin, the time of his dispersion and the course of his migration, the origin of bronze and the course of its migration, all of which may be more or less involved in a discussion of the Swastika, are questions not to be settled by the dogmatic assertions of any individual.

Much of the information in this paper is original, and relates to prehistoric more than to modern times, and extends to nearly all the countries of the globe. It is evident that the author must depend on other discoverers; therefore, all books, travels, writers, and students have been laid under contribution without scruple. Due acknowledgment is hereby made for all quotations of text or figures wherever they occur.

Quotations have been freely made, instead of sifting the evidence and giving the substance. The justification is that there has never been any sufficient marshaling of the evidence on the subject, and that the former deductions have been inconclusive; therefore, quotations of authors are given in their own words, to the end that the philosophers who propose to deal with the origin, meaning, and cause of migration of the Swastika will have all the evidence before them.

Assumptions may appear as to antiquity, origin, and migration of the Swastika, but it is explained that many times these only reflect the opinion of the writers who are quoted, or are put forth as working hypotheses.

The indulgence of the reader is asked, and it is hoped that he will endeavor to harmonize conflicting statements upon these disputed questions rather than antagonize them.

I.—Definitions, Description, and Origin.

DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE CROSS.

The simple cross made with two sticks or marks belongs to prehistoric times. Its first appearance among men is lost in antiquity. One may theorize as to its origin, but there is no historical identification of it either in epoch or by country or people. The sign is itself so simple that it might have originated among any people, however primitive, and in any age, however remote. The meaning given to the earliest cross is equally unknown. Everything concerning its beginning is in the realm of speculation. But a differentiation grew up in early times among nations by which certain forms of the cross have been known under certain names and with specific significations. Some of these, such as the Maltese cross, are historic and can be well identified.

The principal forms of the cross, known as symbols or ornaments, can be reduced to a few classes, though when combined with heraldry its use extends to 385 varieties.[1]

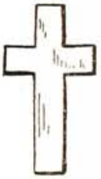

Fig. 1.

LATIN CROSS (*Crux immissa*).

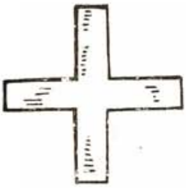

Fig. 2.

GREEK CROSS.

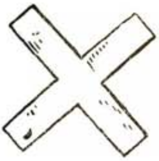

Fig. 3.

ST. ANDREW'S CROSS (*Crux decussata.*)

It is not the purpose of this paper to give a history of the cross, but the principal forms are shown by way of introduction to a study of the Swastika.

The Latin cross, *Crux immissa*, (fig. 1) is found on coins, medals, and ornaments anterior to the Christian era. It was on this cross that Christ is said to have been crucified, and thus it became accepted as the Christian cross.

The Greek cross (fig. 2) with arms of equal length crossing at right angles, is found on Assyrian and Persian monuments and tablets, Greek coins and statues.

The St. Andrew's cross, *Crux decussata*, (fig. 3) is the same as the Greek cross, but turned to stand on two legs.

---

[1] William Berry, Encyclopædia Heraldica, 1828–1840.

The *Crux ansata* (fig. 4) according to Egyptian mythology, was Ankh, the emblem of Ka, the spiritual double of man. It was also said to indicate a union of Osiris and Isis. and was regarded as a symbol of the generative principle of nature.

The Tau cross (fig. 5), so called from its resemblance to the Greek letter of that name, is of uncertain, though ancient, origin. In Scandinavian mythology it passed under the name of "Thor's hammer," being therein confounded with the Swastika. It was also called St. Anthony's cross for the Egyptian hermit of that name, and was always colored blue. Clarkson says this mark was received by the Mithracists on their foreheads at the time of their initiation. C. W. King, in his work entitled "Early Christian Numismatics" (p. 214), expresses the opinion that the Tau cross was placed on the foreheads of men who cry after abominations. (Ezekiel ix, 4.) It is spoken of as a phallic emblem.

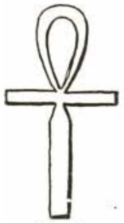

Fig. 4.

EGYPTIAN CROSS (*Crux ansata*).
The Key of Life.

Another variety of the cross appeared about the second century, composed of a union of the St. Andrew's cross and the letter P (fig. 6), being the first two letters of the Greek word *ΧΡΙΣΤῸΣ* (Christus). This, with another variety containing all the foregoing letters, passed as the monogram of Christ (fig. 6).

As an instrument of execution, the cross, besides being the intersection of two beams with four projecting arms, was frequently of compound forms as Y, on which the convicted person was fastened by the feet and hung head downward. Another form ⊓, whereon he was fastened by one foot and one hand at each upper corner; still another form ⊤, whereon his body was suspended on the central upright with his arms outstretched upon the cross beams.

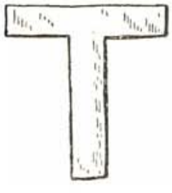

Fig. 5.

TAU CROSS, THOR'S HAMMER, OR ST. ANTHONY'S CROSS.

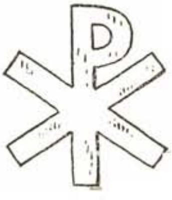

Fig. 6.

MONOGRAM OF CHRIST.
Labarum of Constantine.

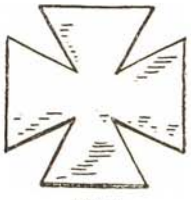

Fig. 7.

MALTESE CROSS.

Fig. 7 represents the sign of the military order of the Knights of Malta. It is of medieval origin.

Fig. 8 (*a* and *b*) represents two styles of Celtic crosses. These belong chiefly to Ireland and Scotland, are usually of stone, and frequently set up at marked places on the road side.

Higgins, in his "Anacalypsis," a rare and costly work, almost an encyclopedia of knowledge,[1] says, concerning the origin of the cross, that the official name of the governor of Tibet, Lama, comes from the ancient Tibetan word for the cross. The original spelling was L-a-m-h. This is cited with approval in Davenport's "Aphrodisiacs" (p. 13).

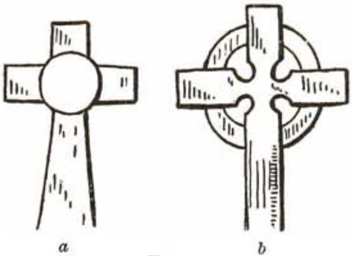

Fig. 8.

CELTIC CROSSES.

Of the many forms of the cross, the Swastika is the most ancient. Despite the theories and speculations of students, its origin is unknown. It began before history, and is properly classed as prehistoric. Its description is as follows: The bars of the normal Swastika (frontispiece and fig. 9) are straight, of equal thickness throughout, and cross each other at right angles, making four arms of equal size, length, and style. Their peculiarity is that all the ends are bent at right angles and in the same direction, right or left. Prof. Max Müller makes the symbol different according as the arms are bent to the right or to the left. That bent to the right he denominates the true Swastika, that bent to the left he calls Suavastika (fig. 10), but he gives no authority for the statement, and the author has been unable to find, except in Burnouf, any justification for a difference of names. Professor Goodyear gives the title of "Meander" to that form of Swastika which bends two or more times (fig. 11).

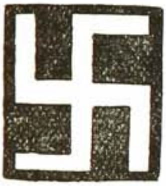

Fig. 9.

NORMAL SWASTIKA.

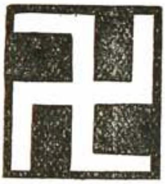

Fig. 10.

SUAVASTIKA.

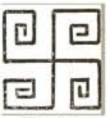

Fig. 11.

SWASTIKA.

Meander.

The Swastika is sometimes represented with dots or points in the corners of the intersections (fig. 12*a*), and occasionally the same when without bent ends (fig. 12*b*), to which Zmigrodzki gives the name of *Croix Swasticale*. Some Swastikas have three dots placed equidistant around each of the four ends (fig. 12*c*).

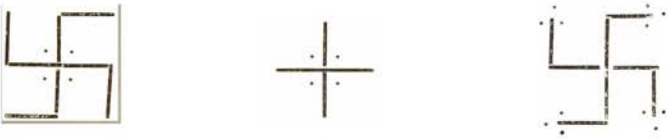

Fig. 12.

CROIX SWASTICALE (ZMIGRODZKI).

---

[1] Higgins, "Anacalypsis," London, 1836, I, p. 230.

There are several varieties possibly related to the Swastika which have been found in almost every part of the globe, and though the relation may appear slight, and at first sight difficult to trace, yet it will appear more or less intimate as the examination is pursued through its ramifications. As this paper is an investigation into and report upon facts rather than conclusions to be drawn from them, it is deemed wise to give those forms bearing even possible relations to the Swastika. Certain of them have been accepted by the author as related to the Swastika, while others have been rejected; but this rejection has been confined to cases where the known facts seemed to justify another origin for the symbol. Speculation has been avoided.

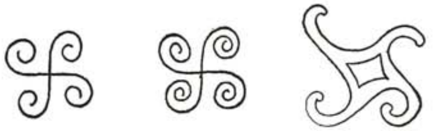

Fig. 13*a*.
OGEE AND SPIRAL SWASTIKAS.
Tetraskelion (four-armed).

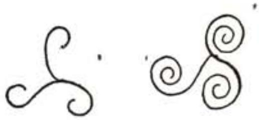

Fig. 13*b*.
SPIRAL AND VOLUTE.
Triskelion (three-armed).

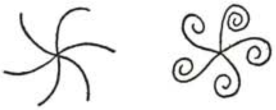

Fig. 13*c*.
SPIRAL AND VOLUTE.
(Five or many armed.)

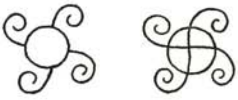

Fig. 13*d*.
OGEE SWASTIKA, WITH CIRCLE.

PECULIAR FORMS OF SWASTIKA.

NAMES AND DEFINITIONS OF THE SWASTIKA.

The Swastika has been called by different names in different countries, though nearly all countries have in later years accepted the ancient Sanskrit name of Swastika; and this name is recommended as the most definite and certain, being now the most general and, indeed, almost universal. It was formerly spelled s-v-a-s-t-i-c-a and s-u-a-s-t-i-k-a, but the later spelling, both English and French, is s-w-a-s-t-i-k-a. The definition and etymology of the word is thus given in Littre's French Dictionary:

> *Svastika*, or *Swastika*, a mystic figure used by several (East) Indian sects. It was equally well known to the Brahmins as to the Buddhists. Most of the rock inscriptions in the Buddhist caverns in the west of India are preceded or followed by the holy (*sacramentelle*) sign of the Swastika. (Eug. Burnouf, "Le Lotus de la bonne loi." Paris, 1852, p. 625.) It was seen on the vases and pottery of Rhodes (Cyprus) and Etruria. (F. Delaunay, Jour. Off., Nov. 18, 1873, p. 7024, 3d Col.)
>
> Etymology: A Sanskrit word signifying happiness, pleasure, good luck. It is composed of *Su* (equivalent of Greek *εὐ*), "good," and *asti*, "being," "good being," with the suffix *ka* (Greek *κα*, Latin *co*).

In the "Revue d'Ethnographie" (IV, 1885, p. 329), Mr. Dumoutier gives the following analysis of the Sanskrit *swastika:*

> *Su*, radical, signifying *good*, *well*, *excellent*, or *suvidas*, prosperity.
>
> *Asti*, third person, singular, indicative present of the verb *as*, to be, which is *sum* in Latin.
>
> *Ka*, suffix forming the substantive.

Professor Whitney in the Century Dictionary says, Swastika—[Sanskrit, lit., "of good fortune." Svasti (*Su*, well, + *asti*, being), welfare.] Same as fylfot. Compare *Crux ansata* and *gammadion.*

In "Ilios" (p. 347), Max Müller says:

> Ethnologically, *svastika* is derived from *svasti*, and *svasti* from *su*, "well," and *as*, "to be." *Svasti* occurs frequently in the Veda, both as a noun in a sense of happiness, and as an adverb in the sense of "well" or "hail!" It corresponds to the Greek *εὐεστώ*. The derivation *Svasti-ka* is of later date, and it always means an auspicious sign, such as are found most frequently among Buddhists and Jainas.

M. Eugène Burnouf[1] defines the mark Swastika as follows:

> A monogrammatic sign of four branches, of which the ends are curved at right angles, the name signifying, literally, the sign of benediction or good augury.

The foregoing explanations relate only to the present accepted name "Swastika." The *sign* Swastika must have existed long before the *name* was given to it. It must have been in existence long before the Buddhist religion or the Sanskrit language.

In Great Britain the common name given to the Swastika from Anglo-Saxon times by those who apparently had no knowledge whence it came, or that it came from any other than their own country, was Fylfot, said to have been derived from the Anglo-Saxon *fower fot*, meaning four-footed, or many-footed.[2]

George Waring, in his work entitled "Ceramic Art in Remote Ages" (p. 10), says:

> The word [Fylfot] is Scandinavian and is compounded of Old Norse *fiël*, equivalent to the Anglo-Saxon *fela*, German *viel*, many, and *fotr*, foot, the many-footed figure. * * * It is desirable to have some settled name by which to describe it· we will take the simplest and most descriptive, the "Fylfot."

He thus transgresses one of the oldest and soundest rules of scientific nomenclature, and ignores the fact that the name Swastika has been employed for this sign in the Sanskrit language (the etymology of the word naturally gave it the name Svastika, *sv*—good or well, *asti*—to be or being, or it is) and that two thousand and more years of use in Asia and Europe had sanctioned and sanctified that as its name. The use of Fylfot is confined to comparatively few persons in Great Britain and, possibly, Scandinavia. Outside of these countries it is scarc[illegible] known, used, or understood.

---

[1] "Des Sciences et Religion," p. 256.

[2] R. P. Greg, "The Fylfot and Swastika," Archæologia, XLVIII, part 2, 1885, p. 298; Goblet d'Alviella, "Migration des Symboles," p. 50.

The Swastika was occasionally called in the French language, [illegible] earlier times, *Croix gammée* or *Gammadion*, from its resemblance to a combination of four of the Greek letters of that name, and it is so named by Count Goblet d'Alviella in his late work, "La Migration des Symboles." It was also called *Croix cramponnée*, *Croix pattée*, *Croix à crochet*. But the consensus even of French etymologists favors the name Swastika.

Some foreign authors have called it Thor's hammer, or Thor's hammer-mark, but the correctness of this has been disputed.[1] Waring, in his elaborate work, "Ceramic Art in Remote Ages,"[2] says:

> The 卍 used to be vulgarly called in Scandinavia the hammer of Thor, and Thor's hammer-mark, or the hammer-mark, but this name properly belongs to the mark Y.

Ludwig Müller gives it as his opinion that the Swastika has no connection with the Thor hammer. The best Scandinavian authors report the "Thor hammer" to be the same as the Greek tau (fig. 5), the same form as the Roman and English capital T. The Scandinavian name is Miölner or Mjolner, the crusher or mallet.

The Greek, Latin, and Tau crosses are represented in Egyptian hieroglyphics by a hammer or mallet, giving the idea of crushing, pounding, or striking, and so an instrument of justice, an avenger of wrong,[3] hence standing for Horus and other gods.[4] Similar symbolic meanings have been given to these crosses in ancient classic countries of the Orient.[5]

SYMBOLISM AND INTERPRETATION.

Many theories have been presented concerning the symbolism of the Swastika, its relation to ancient deities and its representation of certain qualities. In the estimation of certain writers it has been respectively the emblem of Zeus, of Baal, of the sun, of the sun-god, of the sun-chariot of Agni the fire-god, of Indra the rain-god, of the sky, the sky-god, and finally the deity of all deities, the great God, the Maker and Ruler of the Universe. It has also been held to symbolize light or the god of light, of the forked lightning, and of water. It is believed by some to have been the oldest Aryan symbol. In the estimation of others it represents Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, Creator, Preserver, Destroyer. It appears in the footprints of Buddha, engraved upon the solid rock on the mountains of India (fig. 32). It stood for the Jupiter Tonans and Pluvius of the Latins, and the Thor of the Scandinavians. In the latter case it has been considered—erroneously, however—a variety of the Thor hammer. In the opinion of at least one author it had an intimate relation to the Lotus sign of Egypt and Persia. Some authors have attributed a phallic meaning to it. Others have recognized it as representing the generative principle of mankind, making it the symbol of the female. Its appearance on the person of certain goddesses, Artemis, Hera, Demeter, Astarte, and the Chaldean Nana, the leaden goddess from Hissarlik (fig. 125), has caused it to be claimed as a sign of fecundity.

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[1] Stephens, "Old Northern Runic Monuments," part II, p. 509; Ludwig Müller, quoted on p. 778 of this paper; Goblet d'Alviella, "La Migration des Symboles," p. 45; Haddon, "Evolution in Art," p. 288.

[2] Page 12.

[3] "La Migration des Symboles," pp. 21, 22.

[4] "Le Culte de la Croix avant Jésus-Christ," in the Correspondant, October 25, 1889, and in Science Catholique, February 15, 1890, p. 163.

[5] Same authorities.

In forming the foregoing theories their authors have been largely controlled by the alleged fact of the substitution and permutation of the Swastika sign on various objects with recognized symbols of these different deities. The claims of these theorists are somewhat clouded in obscurity and lost in the antiquity of the subject. What seems to have been at all times an attribute of the Swastika is its character as a charm or amulet, as a sign of benediction, blessing, long life, good fortune, good luck. This character has continued into modern times, and while the Swastika is recognized as a holy and sacred symbol by at least one Buddhistic religious sect, it is still used by the common people of India, China, and Japan as a sign of long life, good wishes, and good fortune.

Whatever else the sign Swastika may have stood for, and however many meanings it may have had, it was always ornamental. It may have been used with any or all the above significations, but it was always ornamental as well.

The Swastika sign had great extension and spread itself practically over the world, largely, if not entirely, in prehistoric times, though its use in some countries has continued into modern times.

The elaboration of the meanings of the Swastika indicated above and its dispersion or migrations form the subject of this paper.

Dr. Schliemann found many specimens of Swastika in his excavations at the site of ancient Troy on the hill of Hissarlik. They were mostly on spindle whorls, and will be described in due course. He appealed to Prof. Max Müller for an explanation, who, in reply, wrote an elaborate description, which Dr. Schliemann published in "Ilios."[1]

He commences with a protest against the word Swastika being applied generally to the sign Swastika, because it may prejudice the reader or the public in favor of its Indian origin. He says:

> I do not like the use of the *word svastika* outside of India. It is a *word* of Indian origin and has its history and definite meaning in India. * * * The occurrence of such crosses in different parts of the world may or may not point to a common origin, but if they are once called *Svastika* the *vulgus profanum* will at once

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[1] Page 346, et seq.

jump to the conclusion that they all come from India, and it will take some time to weed out such prejudice.

Very little is known of Indian art before the third century B. C., the period when the Buddhist sovereigns began their public buildings.[1]

The name Svastika, however, can be traced (in India) a little farther back. It occurs as the name of a particular sign in the old grammar of Pânani, about a century earlier. Certain compounds are mentioned there in which the last word is *karna*, "ear." * * * One of the signs for marking cattle was the Svastika [fig. 41], and what Pânani teaches in his grammar is that when the compound is formed, *svastika-karna*, i. e., "having the ear marked with the sign of a Svastika," the final *a* of Svastika is not to be lengthened, while it is lengthened in other compounds, such as *datra-karna*, i. e., "having the ear marked with the sign of a sickle."

D'Alviella[2] reinforces Max Müller's statement that Panini lived during the middle of the fourth century, B. C. Thus it is shown that the word Swastika had been in use at that early period long enough to form an integral part of the Sanskrit language and that it was employed to illustrate the particular sounds of the letter *a* in its grammar.

Max Müller continues his explanation:[3]

It [the Swastika] occurs often at the beginning of the Buddhist inscriptions, on Buddhist coins, and in Buddhist manuscripts. Historically, the Svastika is first attested on a coin of Krananda, supposing Krananda to be the same king as Xandrames, the predecessor of Sandrokyptos, whose reign came to an end in 315 B. C. (See Thomas on the Identity of Xandrames and Krananda.) The paleographic evidence, however, seems rather against so early a date. In the footprints of Buddha the Buddhists recognize no less that sixty-five auspicious signs, the first of them being the *Svastika* [see fig. 32], (Eugene Burnouf, "Lotus de la bonne loi," p. 625); the fourth is the *Suavastika*, or that with the arms turned to the left [see fig. 10]; the third, the *Nandyâvarta* [see fig. 14], is a mere development of the *Svastika*. Among the Jainas the *Svastika* was the sign of their seventh Jina, Supârsva (Colebrooke "Miscellaneous Essays," II, p. 188; Indian Antiquary, vol. 2, p. 135).

In the later Sanskrit literature, *Svastika* retains the meaning of an auspicious mark; thus we see in the Râmâyana (ed. Gorresio, II, p. 348) that Bharata selects a ship marked with the sign of the Svastika. Varâhamihira in the Brihat-samhitâ (Med. Sæc., VI, p. Ch.) mentions certain buildings called Svastika and Nandyâvarta (53.34, seq.), but their outline does not correspond very exactly with the form of the signs. Some Sthûpas, however, are said to have been built on the plan of the Svastika. * * * Originally, *svastika* may have been intended for no more than two lines crossing each other, or a cross. Thus we find it used in later times referring to a woman covering her breast with crossed arms (Bâlarâm, 75.16), *svahastasvastika-stani*, and likewise with reference to persons sitting crosslegged.

Dr. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter[4] speaking of the Swastika position, either of crossed legs or arms, among the Hindus,[5] suggests as a possible explanation that these women bore the Swastikas upon their arms as did the goddess Aphrodite, in fig. 8 of his writings, (see fig. 180 in the present paper), and when they assumed the position of arms crossed over their breast, the Swastikas being brought into prominent view, possibly gave the name to the position as being a representative of the sign.

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[1] The native Buddhist monarchs ruled from about B. C. 500 to the conquest of Alexander, B. C. 330. See "The Swastika on ancient coins," Chapter II of this paper, and Waring, "Ceramic Art in Remote Ages," p. 83.

[2] "La Migration des symboles," p. 104.

[3] "Ilios," pp. 347, 348.

[4] Bulletins de la Sociètè d'Anthropologie, 188⁸, p. 678.

[5] Mr. Gandhi makes the same remark in his letter on the Buddha shell statue shown in pl. 10 of this paper.

Max Müller continues[1]:

> Quite another question is, why the sign 卐 should have had an auspicious meaning, and why in Sanskrit it should have been called Svastika. The similarity between the group of letters *sv* in the ancient Indian alphabet and the sign of Svastika is not very striking, and seems purely accidental.
>
> A remark of yours [Schliemann] (Troy, p. 38) that the Svastika resembles a wheel in motion, the direction of the motion being indicated by the crampons, contains a useful hint, which has been confirmed by some important observations of Mr. Thomas, the distinguished Oriental numismatist, who has called attention to the fact that in the long list of the recognized devices of the twenty-four Jaina Tirthankaras the sun is absent, but that while the eighth Tirthankara has the sign of the half-moon, the seventh Tirthankara is marked with the Svastika, i. e., the sun. Here, then, we have clear indications that the Svastika, with the hands pointing in the right direction, was originally a symbol of the sun, perhaps of the vernal sun as opposed to the autumnal sun, the *Suavastika*, and, therefore, a natural symbol of light, life, health, and wealth.
>
> But, while from these indications we are justified in supposing that among the Aryan nations the Svastika may have been an old emblem of the sun, there are other indications to show that in other parts of the world the same or a similar emblem was used to indicate the earth. Mr. Beal * * * has shown * * * that the simple cross (+) occurs as a sign for earth in certain ideographic groups. It was probably intended to indicate the four quarters—north, south, east, west—or, it may be, more generally, extension in length and breadth.
>
> That the cross is used as a sign for "four" in the Bactro-Pali inscriptions (Max Müller, "Chips from a German Workshop," Vol. II, p. 298) is well known; but the fact that the same sign has the same power elsewhere, as, for instance, in the Hieratic numerals, does not prove by any means that the one figure was derived from the other. We forget too easily that what was possible in one place was possible also in other places; and the more we extend our researches, the more we shall learn that the chapter of accidents is larger than we imagine.

The "Suavastika" which Max Müller names and believes was applied to the Swastika sign, with the ends bent to the left (fig. 10), seems not to be reported with that meaning by any other author except Burnouf.[2] Therefore the normal Swastika would seem to be that with the ends bent to the right. Burnouf says the word Suavastika may be a derivative or development of the Svastikaya, and ought to signify "he who, or, that which, bears or carries the Swastika or a species of Swastika." Greg,[3] under the title Sôvastikaya, gives it as his opinion that there is no difference between it and the Swastika. Colonel Low[4] mentions the word Sawattheko, which, according to Burnouf[5] is only a variation of the Pali word Sotthika or Suvatthika, the Pali translation of the Sanskrit Swastika. Burnouf translates it as Svastikaya.

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[1] "Ilios," p. 348.

[2] "Lotus de la Bonne Loi," App. VIII, p. 626, note 4.

[3] Archæologia, p. 36.

[4] Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, III, p. 120.

[5] "Lotus de la Bonne Loi," App. VIII, p. 625, note 2.

M. Eugene Burnouf[1] speaks of a third sign of the footprint of Çakya, called Nandâvartaya, a good augury, the meaning being the "circle of fortune," which is the Swastika inclosed within a square with avenues radiating from the corners (fig. 14). Burnouf says the above sign has many significations. It is a sacred temple or edifice, a species of labyrinth, a garden of diamonds, a chain, a golden waist or shoulder belt, and a conique with spires turning to the right.

Colonel Sykes[2] concludes that, according to the Chinese authorities Fa-hian, Soung Young, Hiuan thsang, the "Doctors of reason, 'Tao-sse, or followers of the mystic cross 卐 were diffused in China and India before the advent of Sakya in the sixth century B. C. (according to Chinese, Japanese, and Buddhist authorities, the eleventh century B. C.), continuing until Fa-hian's time; and that they were professors of a qualified Buddhism, which, it is stated, was the universal religion of Tibet before Sakya's advent,[3] and continued until the introduction of orthodox Buddhism in the ninth century A. D.[4]

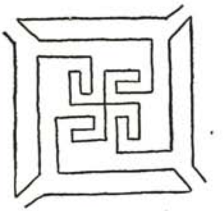

Fig. 14.

NANDÂVARTAYA, A THIRD SIGN OF THE FOOTPRINT OF BUDDHA.

Burnouf, "Lotus de la Bonne Loi," Paris, 1852, p. 626.

Klaproth[5] calls attention to the frequent mention by Fa-hian, of the Tao-sse, sectaries of the mystic cross 卐 (Sanskrit Swastika), and to their existence in Central Asia and India; while he says they were diffused over the countries to the west and southwest of China, and came annually from all kingdoms and countries to adore Kassapo, Buddha's predecessor.[6] Mr. James Burgess[7] mentions the Tirthankaras or Jainas as being sectarians of the Mystic Cross, the Swastika.

The Cyclopædia of India (title Swastika), coinciding with Prof. Max Müller, says:

> The Swastika symbol is not to be confounded with the Swastika sect in Tibet which took the symbol for its name as typical of the belief of its members. They render the Sanskrit Swastika as composed of su "well" and asti "it is," meaning, as Professor Wilson expresses it, "so be it," and implying complete resignation under all circumstances. They claimed the Swastika of Sanskrit as the *suti* of Pali, and that the Swastika cross was a combination of the two symbols *sutti-suti*. They are rationalists, holding that contentment and peace of mind should be the only objects of life. The sect has preserved its existence in different localities and under different names, Thirthankara, Ter, Musteg, Pon, the last name meaning purity, under which a remnant are still in the farthest parts of the most eastern province of Tibet.

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[1] "Lotus de la Bonne Loi," p. 626.

[2] "Notes on the Religious, Moral, and Political state of India," Journ. Asiatic Soc. Great Britain, VI, pp. 310–334.

[3] Low, Trans. Roy. Asiatic Soc. of Great Britain III, pp. 334, 310.

[4] Ibid., p. 299.

[5] Ibid., p. 299.

[6] Low, Trans. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Great Britain, III, p. 310.

[7] Indian Antiquary, II, May, 1873, p. 135.

General Cunningham[1] adds his assertion of the Swastika being the symbol used by the Buddhist sect of that name. He says in a note:

> The founder of this sect flourished about the year 604 to 523 B. C., and that the mystic cross is a symbol formed by the combination of the two Sanskrit syllables *su* and *ti-suti*.

Waring[2] proceeds to demolish these statements of a sect named Swastika as pure inventions, and "consulting Professor Wilson's invaluable work on the Hindoo religious sects in the 'Asiatic Researches,' we find no account of any sect named Swastika."

Mr. V. R. Gandhi, a learned legal gentleman of Bombay, a representative of the Jain sect of Buddhists to the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago, 1893, denies that there is in either India or Tibet a sect of Buddhists named "Swastika." He suggests that these gentlemen probably mean the sects of Jains (of which Mr. Gandhi is a member), because this sect uses the Swastika as a sign of benediction and blessing. This will be treated further on. (See p. 804.)

Zmigrodzki, commenting on the frequency of the Swastika on the objects found by Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik, gives it as his opinion[3] that these representations of the Swastika have relation to a human cult indicating a supreme being filled with goodness toward man. The sun, stars, etc., indicate him as a god of light. This, in connection with the idol of Venus, with its triangular shield engraved with a Swastika (fig. 125), and the growing trees and palms, with their increasing and multiplying branches and leaves, represent to him the idea of fecundity, multiplication, increase, and hence the god of life as well as of light. The Swastika sign on funeral vases indicates to him a belief in a divine spirit in man which lives after death, and hence he concludes that the people of Hissarlik, in the "Burnt City" (the third of Schliemann), adored a supreme being, the god of light and of life, and believed in the immortality of the soul.

R. P. Greg says:[4]

> Originally it [the Swastika] would appear to have been an early Aryan atmospheric device or symbol indicative of both rain and lightning, phenomena appertaining to the god Indra, subsequently or collaterally developing, possibly, into the Suastika, or sacred fire churn in India, and at a still later period in Greece, adopted rather as a solar symbol, or converted about B. C. 650 into the meander or key pattern.

Waring, while he testifies to the extension of the Swastika both in time and area, says:[5]

> But neither in the hideous jumble of Pantheism—the wild speculative thought, mystic fables, and perverted philosophy of life among the Buddhists—nor in the equally wild and false theosophy of the Brahmins, to whom this symbol, as distinc-

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[1] "Bilsa Topes," p. 17.

[2] "Ceramic Art in Remote Ages," p. 12.

[3] Tenth Congress International d'Anthropologie et d'Archæologie Prehistoriques, Paris, 1889, p. 474.

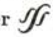
[4] Archæologia, XLVII, pt. 1, p. 159.

[5] "Ceramic Art in Remote Ages," p. 11.

tive of the Vishnavas, sectarian devotees of Vishnu, is ascribed by Moor in his "Indian Pantheon," nor yet in the tenets of the Jains,[1] do we find any decisive explanation of the meaning attached to this symbol, although its allegorical intention is indubitable.

He mentions the Swastika of the Buddhists, the cross, the circle, their combination, the three-foot and adds: "They exhibit forms of those olden and widely spread pagan symbols of Deity and sanctity, eternal life and blessing."

Professor Sayce says:[2]

> The Cyprian vase figured in Di Cesnola's "Cyprus," pl. XLV, fig. 36 [see fig. 156], which associates the Swastika with the figure of an animal, is a striking analogue of the Trojan whorls on which it is associated with the figures of stags. The fact that it is drawn within the vulva of the leaden image of the Asiatic goddess [see fig. 125] seems to show that it was a symbol of generation. I believe that it is identical with the Cyprian character  or (ne), which has the form in the inscription of Golgi, and also with the Hittite or which Dr. Hyde Clarke once suggested to me was intended to represent the organs of generation.

Mr. Waller, in his work entitled "Monumental Crosses," describes the Swastika as having been known in India as a sacred symbol many centuries before our Lord, and used as the distinguishing badge of a religious sect calling themselves "Followers of the Mystic Cross." Subsequently, he says, it was adopted by the followers of Buddha and was still later used by Christians at a very early period, being first introduced on Christian monuments in the sixth century. But Mr. Waring says that in this he is not correct, as it was found in some of the early paintings in the Roman catacombs, particularly on the habit of a *Fossor*, or gravedigger, given by D'Agincourt.

Pugin, in his "Glossary of Ornament," under the title "Fylfot," says that in Tibet the Swastika was used as a representation of God crucified for the human race, citing as his authority F. Augustini Antonii Georgii.[3] He remarks:

> From these accounts it would appear that the fylfot is a mystical ornament, not only adopted among Christians from primitive times, but used, as if prophetically, for centuries before the coming of our Lord. To descend to later times, we find it constantly introduced in ecclesiastical vestments, * * * till the end of the fifteenth century, a period marked by great departure from traditional symbolism.

Its use was continued in Tibet into modern times, though its meaning is not given.[4] (See p. 802.)

The Rev. G. Cox, in his "Aryan Mythology," says:

> We recognize the male and the female symbol in the trident of Poseidon, and in the fylfot or hammer of Thor, which assumes the form of a cross-pattèe in the various legends which turn on the rings of Freya, Holda, Venus, or Aphrodite.

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[1] See explanation of the Swastika by Mr. Gandhi according to the Jain tenets, p. 804.

[2] "Ilios," p. 353.

[3] "Alphabetum Tibetarium," Rome, 1762, pp. 211, 460, 725.

[4] Rockhill, "Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet," Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1894, p. 67.

Here again we find the fylfot and cross-pattèe spoken of as the same symbol, and as being emblematic of the reproductive principles, in which view of its meaning Dr. Inman, in his "Ancient Faiths Embodied in Ancient Names," concurs.

Burnouf[1] recounts the myth of Agni (from which comes, through the Latin *ignis*, the English word igneous), the god of Sacred Fire, as told in the Veda:[2]

> The young queen, the mother of Fire, carried the royal infant mysteriously concealed in her bosom. She was a woman of the people, whose common name was "Arani"—that is, the instrument of wood (the Swastika) from which fire was made or brought by rubbing. * * * The origin of the sign [Swastika] is now easy to recognize. It represents the two pieces of wood which compose *l'arani,* of which the extremities were bent to be retained by the four nails. At the junction of the two pieces of wood was a fossette or cup-like hole, and there they placed a piece of wood upright, in form of a lance (the Pramantha), violent rotation of which, by whipping (after the fashion of top-whipping), produced fire, as did Prometheus, the *porteur du feu,* in Greece.

And this myth was made, as have been others, probably by the priests and poets of succeeding times, to do duty for different philosophies. The Swastika was made to represent Arani (the female principle); the Pramantha or upright fire stake representing Agni, the fire god (the male); and so the myth served its part to account for the birth of fire. Burnouf hints that the myth grew out of the production of holy fire for the sacred altars by the use of the Pramantha and Swastika, after the manner of savages in all times. Zmigrodzki accepts this myth, and claims all specimens with dots or points—supposed nail holes—as Swastikas.

The Count Goblet d'Alviella[3] argues in opposition to the theory announced by Burnouf and by Zmigrodzki, that the Swastika or croix swasticale, when presenting dots or points, had relation to fire making. He denies that the points represent nails, or that nails were made or necessary either for the Swastika or the Arani, and concludes that there is no evidence to support the theory, and nothing to show the Swastika to have been used as a fire-making apparatus, whether with or without the dots or points.

Mr. Greg[4] opposes this entire theory, saying:

> The difficulty about the Swastika and its supposed connection with fire appears to me to lie in not knowing precisely what the old fire drill and chark were like. * * * I much doubt whether the Swastika had originally any connection either with the fire-chark or with the sun. * * * The best authorities consider Burnouf is in error as to the earlier use of the two lower cross pieces of wood and the four nails said to have been used to fix or steady the framework.

He quotes from Tylor's description[5] of the old fire drill used in India for kindling the sacrificial fire by the process called "churning," as it resembles that in India by which butter is separated from milk. It consists in drilling one piece of Arani wood by pulling a cord with one hand while the other is slackened, and so, alternately (the strap drill), till the wood takes fire. Mr. Greg' states that the Eskimos use similar means, and the ancient Greeks used the drill and cord, and he adds his conclusions: "There is nothing of the Swastika and four nails in connection with the fire-churn."

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[1] "Des Sciences et Religion," pp. 252, 257.

[2] Vol. XI.

[3] "La Migration des Symboles," pp. 61–63.

[4] Archæologia, XLVIII, pt. 2, pp. 322, 323.

[5] "Early History of Mankind," p. 257, note C.

Burton[1] also criticises Burnouf's theory:

> If used on sacrificial altars to reproduce the holy fire, the practice is peculiar and not derived from everyday life; for as early as Pliny they knew that the savages used two, and never three, fire sticks.

Burnouf continues his discussion of myths concerning the origin of fire:

> According to Hymnes, the discoverer of fire was Atharan, whose name signifies fire, but Bhrigon it was who made the sacred fire, producing resplendent flames on the earthen altar. In theory of physics, Agni, who was the fire residing within the "onction," (?) came from the milk of the cow, which, in its turn, came from the plants that had nourished her; and these plants in their turn grew by receiving and appropriating the heat or fire of the sun. Therefore, the virtue of the "onction" came from the god.

One of the Vedas says of Agni, the god of fire:[2]

> Agni, thou art a sage, a priest, a king,
> Protector, father of the sacrifice;
> Commissioned by our men thou dost ascend
> A messenger, conveying to the sky
> Our hymns and offerings, though thy origin
> Be three fold, now from air and now from water,
> Now from the mystic double *Arani*.[3]

Count Goblet d'Alviella combats the hypothesis of Burnouf that the Swastika when turned to right or left, passed, the one for the male and the other for the female principle, and declares, on the authority of Sir George Birdwood, that it is, in modern India, a popular custom to name objects which appear in couples as having different sexes, so that to say "the male Swastika" and the "female Swastika," indicating them by the pronouns "he" or "she," would be expressed in the same manner when speaking of the hammer and the anvil or of any other objects used in pairs.[4]

Ludwig Müller, in his elaborate treatise, gives it as his opinion that the Swastika had no connection with the Tau cross or with the *Crux ansata*, or with the fire wheel, or with arani, or agni, or with the mystic or alphabetic letters, nor with the so-called spokes of the solar wheel, nor the forked lightning, nor the hammer of Thor. He considers that the triskelion might throw light on its origin, as indicating perpetual whirling or circular movement, which, in certain parts of southern Asia as the emblem of Zeus, was assimilated to that of Baal, an inference which he draws from certain Asiatic coins of 400 B. C.

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[1] "The Book of the Sword," p. 202, note 2.

[2] Burnouf, "Des Sciences et Religion," p. 18.

[3] The two pieces of wood of *Ficus religiosa*, used for kindling fire.

[4] "La Migration des Symboles," p. 63.

Mr. R. P. Greg[1] opposes this theory and expresses the opinion that the Swastika is far older and wider spread as a symbol than the triskelion, as well as being a more purely Aryan symbol. Greg says that Ludwig Müller attaches quite too much importance to the sun in connection with the early Aryans, and lays too great stress upon the supposed relation of the Swastika as a solar symbol. The Aryans, he says, were a race not given to sun worship; and, while he may agree with Müller that the Swastika is an emblem of Zeus and Jupiter merely as the Supreme God, yet he believes that the origin of the Swastika had no reference to a movement of the sun through the heavens; and he prefers his own theory that it was a device suggested by the forked lightning as the chief weapon of the air god.

Mr. Greg's paper is of great elaboration, and highly complicated. He devotes an entire page or plate (21) to a chart showing the older Aryan fire, water, and sun gods, according to the Brahmin or Buddhist system. The earliest was Dyaus, the bright sky or the air god; Adyti, the infinite expanse, mother of bright gods; Varuna, the covering of the shining firmament. Out of this trinity came another, Zeus, being the descendant of Dyaus, the sky god; Agni, the fire; Sulya, the sun, and Indra, the rain god. These in their turn formed the great Hindu trinity, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva—creator, preserver, and destroyer; and, in his opinion, the Swastika was the symbol or ordinary device of Indra as well as of Zeus. He continues his table of descent from these gods, with their accompanying devices, to the sun, lightning, fire, and water, and makes almost a complete scheme of the mythology of that period, into which it is not possible to follow him. However, he declines to accept the theory of Max Müller of any difference of form or meaning between the Suavastika and the Swastika because the ends or arms turned to the right or to the left, and he thinks the two symbols to be substantially the same. He considers it to have been, in the first instance, exclusively of early Aryan origin and use, and that down to about 600 B. C. it was the emblem or symbol of the supreme Aryan god; that it so continued down through the various steps of descent (according to the chart mentioned) until it became the device and symbol of Brahma, and finally of Buddha. He thinks that it may have been the origin of the Greek fret or meander pattern. Later still it was adopted even by the early Christians as a suitable variety of their cross, and became variously modified in form and was used as a charm.

D'Alviella[2] expresses his doubts concerning the theory advanced by Greg[3] to the effect that the Swastika is to be interpreted as a symbol of the air or of the god who dwells in the air, operating sometimes to produce light, other times rain, then water, and so on, as is represented by the god Indra among the Hindus, Thor among the Germans and Scandinavians, Perkun among the Slavs, Zeus among the Pelasgi and Greeks, Jupiter Tonans, and Pluvius among the Latins. He disputes the theory that the association of the Swastika sign with various others on the same object proves its relationship with that object or sign. That it appears on vases or similar objects associated with what is evidently a solar disk is no evidence to him that the Swastika belongs to the sun, or when associated with the zigzags of lightning that it represents the god of lightning, nor the same with the god of heaven. The fact of its appearing either above or below any one of these is, in his opinion, of no importance and has no signification, either general or special.

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[1] Archæologia, XLIII, pt. 2, pp. 324, 325.

[2] "La Migration des Symboles," p. 64.

[3] "Fylfot and Swastika," Archæologia, 1885, p. 293.

D'Alviella says[1] that the only example known to him of a Swastika upon a monument consecrated to Zeus or Jupiter is on a Celto-Roman altar, erected, according to all appearances, by the Daci during the time they were garrisoned at Ambloganna, in Britain. The altar bears the letters I. O. M., which have been thought to stand for Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The Swastika thereon is flanked by two disks or rouelles, with four rays, a sign which M. Gaidoz believes to have been a representative of the sun among the Gaulois.[2]

Dr. Brinton[3] considers the Swastika as being related to the cross and not to the circle, and asserts that the Ta Ki or Triskeles, the Swastika and the Cross, were originally of the same signification, or at least closely allied in meaning.

Waring,[4] after citing his authorities, sums up his opinion thus:

> We have given remarks of the various writers on this symbol, and it will be seen that, though they are more or less vague, uncertain, and confused in their description of it, still, with one exception, they all agree that it is a mystic symbol, peculiar to some deity or other, bearing a special signification, and generally believed to have some connection with one of the elements—water.

Burton says:[5]

> The Svastika is apparently the simplest form of the Guilloche [scroll pattern or spiral]. According to Wilkinson (11, Chap. IX), the most complicated form of the Guilloche covered an Egyptian ceiling upward of a thousand years older than the objects found at Nineveh. The Svastika spread far and wide, everywhere assuming some fresh mythological and mysterious significance. In the north of Europe it became the Fylfot or Crutched cross.

Count Goblet d'Alviella is of the opinion (p. 57) that the Swastika was "above all an amulet, talisman, or phylactere," while (p. 56) "it is incontestable that a great number of the Swastikas were simply motifs of ornamentation, of coin marks, and marks of fabrics," but he agrees (p. 57) that there is no symbol that has given rise to so many interpretations, not even the *tricula* of the Buddhists, and "this is a great deal to say." Ludwig Müller believes the Swastika to have been used as an ornament and as a charm and amulet, as well as a sacred symbol.

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[1] "La Migration des Symboles," p. 65.

[2] "Le Dieu gaulois du Soleil et le symbolisme de la roue," Paris, 1886.

[3] Proc. Amer. Philosoph. Soc., 1889, pp. 177-187.

[4] "Ceramic Art in Remote Ages."

[5] "The Book of the Sword," p. 202.

Dr. H. Colley March, in his learned paper on the "Fylfot and the Futhorc Tir,"[1] thinks the Swastika had no relation to fire or fire making or the fire god. His theory is that it symbolized axial motion and not merely gyration; that it represented the celestial pole, the axis of the heavens around which revolve the stars of the firmament. This appearance of rotation is most impressive in the constellation of the Great Bear. About four thousand years ago the apparent pivot of rotation was at *α Draconis*, much nearer the Great Bear than now, and at that time the rapid circular sweep must have been far more striking than at present. In addition to the name Ursa Major the Latins called this constellation *Septentriones*, "the seven plowing oxen," that dragged the stars around the pole, and the Greeks called it *ἵλικη*, from its vast spiral movement.[2] In the opinion of Dr. March all these are represented or symbolized by the Swastika.

Prof. W. H. Goodyear, of New York, has lately (1891) published an elaborate quarto work entitled "The Grammar of the Lotus: A New History of Classic Ornament as a Development of Sun Worship."[3] It comprises 408 pages, with 76 plates, and nearly a thousand figures. His theory develops the sun symbol from the lotus by a series of ingenious and complicated evolutions passing through the Ionic style of architecture, the volutes and spirals forming meanders or Greek frets, and from this to the Swastika. The result is attained by the following line of argument and illustrations:

The lotus was a "fetish of immemorial antiquity and has been worshiped in many countries from Japan to the Straits of Gibraltar;" it was a symbol of "fecundity," "life," "immortality," and of "resurrection," and has a mortuary significance and use. But its elementary and most important signification was as a solar symbol.[4]

He describes the Egyptian lotus and traces it through an innumerable number of specimens and with great variety of form. He mentions many of the sacred animals of Egypt and seeks to maintain their relationship by or through the lotus, not only with each other but with solar circles and the sun worship.[5] Direct association of the solar disk and lotus are, according to him, common on the monuments and on Phenician and Assyrian seals; while the lotus and the sacred animals, as in cases cited of the goose representing Seb (solar god, and father of Osiris), also Osiris himself and Horus, the hawk and lotus, bull and lotus, the asp and lotus, the lion and lotus, the sphinx and lotus, the gryphon and lotus, the serpent and lotus, the ram and lotus—all of which animals, and with them the lotus, have, in his opinion, some related signification to the sun or some of his deities.[1] He is of the opinion that the lotus motif was the foundation of the Egyptian style of architecture, and that it appeared at an early date, say, the fourteenth century B. C. By intercommunication with the Greeks it formed the foundation of the Greek Ionic capital, which, he says,[2] "offers no dated example of the earlier time than the sixth century B. C." He supports this contention by authority, argument, and illustration.

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[1] Trans. Lancaster and Cheshire Antiq. Soc., 1886.

[2] Haddon, "Evolution in Art," London, 1895, p 288.

[3] Sampson, Low, Marston & Co., London.

[4] Goodyear, "The Grammar of the Lotus," pp. 4, 5.

[5] Ibid., p. 6.

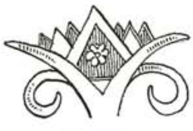

Fig. 15.

TYPICAL LOTUS ON CYPRIAN VASES.

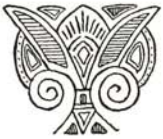

Fig. 16.

TYPICAL LOTUS ON RHODIAN VASES.

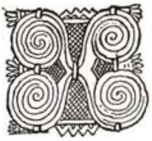

Fig. 17.

TYPICAL LOTUS ON MELIAN VASES.

From figures in Goodyear's "Grammar of the Lotus," p. 77.

He shows[3] the transfer of the lotus motif to Greece, and its use as an ornament on the painted vases and on those from Cyprus, Rhodes, and Melos (figs. 15, 16, 17).

Chantre[4] notes the presence of spirals similar to those of fig. 17, in the terramares of northern Italy and up and down the Danube, and his fig. 186 (fig. 17) he says represents the decorating motif, the most frequent in all that part of prehistoric Europe. He cites "Notes sur les torques ou ornaments spirals."[5]

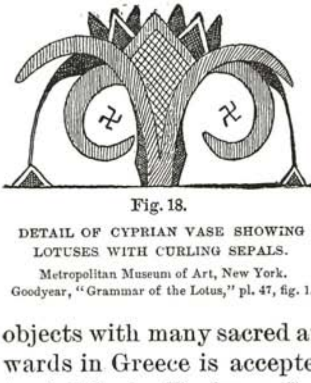

Fig. 18.

DETAIL OF CYPRIAN VASE SHOWING LOTUSES WITH CURLING SEPALS.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Goodyear, "Grammar of the Lotus," pl. 47, fig. 1.

That the lotus had a foundation deep and wide in Egyptian mythology is not to be denied; that it was allied to and associated on the monuments and other objects with many sacred and mythologic characters in Egypt and afterwards in Greece is accepted. How far it extends in the direction contended for by Professor Goodyear, is no part of this investigation. It appears well established that in both countries it became highly conventionalized, and it is quite sufficient for the purpose of this argument that it became thus associated with the Swastika. Figs. 18 and 19 represent details of Cyprian vases and amphora belonging to the Cesnola collection in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, showing the lotus with curling sepals among which are interspersed Swastikas of different forms.

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[1] Goodyear, "The Grammar of the Lotus," pp. 7, 8.

[2] Ibid., p. 71.

[3] Ibid., pp. 74, 77.

[4] "Age du Bronze," Deuxieme partie, p. 301.

[5] Matériaux pour l'Histoire Primitive et Naturelle de l'Homme, 3d ser., VIII, p. 6.

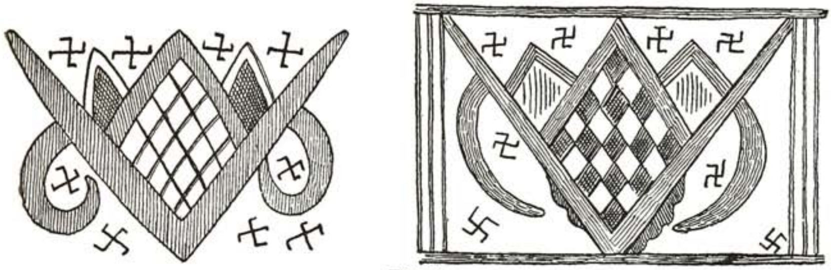

Fig. 19.

DETAIL OF CYPRIAN AMPHORA IN METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK CITY.

Lotus with curling sepals and different Swastikas.

Goodyear, "Grammar of the Lotus," pl. 47, figs. 2, 3.

According to Professor Goodyear,[1] these bent sepals of the lotus were exaggerated and finally became spirals,[2] which, being projected at a tangent, made volutes, and, continuing one after the other, as shown in fig. 20, formed bands of ornament; or,[3] being connected to right and left, spread the ornament over an extended surface as in fig. 21. One of his paths of evolution closed these volutes and dropped the connecting tangent, when they formed the concentric rings of which we see so much. Several forms of Egyptian scarabæi, showing the evolution of concentric rings, are shown in figs. 22, 23, and 24.

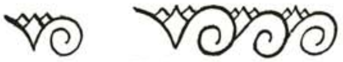

Fig. 20.

THEORY OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE SPIRAL SCROLL FROM LOTUS.

One volute.

Goodyear, "Grammar of the Lotus," fig. 51.

By another path of the evolution of his theory, one has only to square the spiral volutes, and the result is the Greek fret shown in fig. 25.[4] The Greek fret has only to be doubled, when it produces the Swastika shown in fig. 26.[5] Thus we have, according to him, the origin of the Swastika, as shown in figs. 27 and 28.[6]

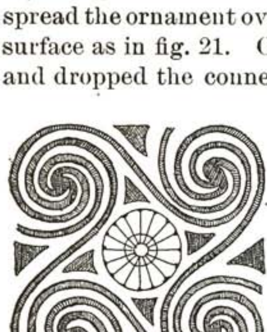

Fig. 21.

THEORY OF LOTUS RUDIMENTS IN SPIRAL.

Tomb 33, Abd-el Kourneh, Thebes.

Goodyear, "Grammar of the Lotus," p. 96.

Professor Goodyear is authority for the statement that the earliest dated instances of the isolated scroll is in the fifth dynasty of Egypt, and of the lotus and spiral is in the eleventh dynasty. The spiral of fig. 19 (above) belongs to the twelfth dynasty.[7]

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[1] "Grammar of the Lotus," pl. 8, p. 81.

[2] Ibid., pp. 82–94.

[3] Ibid., p. 96.

[4] Ibid., pl. x, figs. 7–9, p. 97.

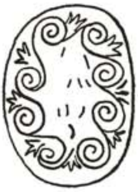
[5] Ibid., p. 354.

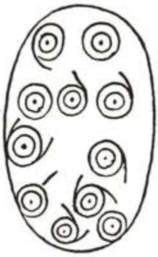
[6] Ibid., p. 353.

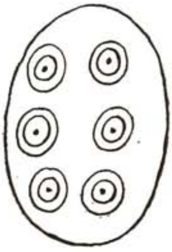
[7] Ibid, p. 354, fig. 174.

Professor Goodyear devotes an entire chapter to the Swastika. On pages 352, 353 he says:

> There is no proposition in archæology which can be so easily demonstrated as the assertion that the Swastika was originally a fragment of the Egyptian meander, provided Greek geometric vases are called in evidence. The connection between the meander and the Swastika has been long since suggested by Prof. A. S. Murray.[1] Hindu specialists have suggested that the Swastika produced the meander. Birdwood[2] says: "I believe the Swastika to be the origin of the key pattern ornament of Greek and Chinese decorative art." Zmigrodzki, in a recent publication,[3] has not only reproposed this derivation of the meander, but has even connected the Mycenæ spirals with this supposed development, and has proposed to change the name of the spiral ornament accordingly. * * * The equivalence of the Swastika with the meander pattern is suggested, in the first instance, by its appearance in the shape of the meander on the Rhodian (pl. 28, fig. 7), Melian (pl. 60, fig. 8), archæic Greek (pl. 60, fig. 9, and pl. 61, fig. 12), and Greek geometric vases (pl. 56). The appearance in shape of the meander may be verified in the British Museum on one geometric vase of the oldest type, and it also occurs in the Louvre.







EGYPTIAN SCARABÆI SHOWING EVOLUTION OF CONCENTRIC RINGS.

Fig. 22.

CONCENTRIC RINGS CONNECTED BY TANGENTS.

From a figure in Petrie's "History of Scarabs."

Fig. 23.

CONCENTRIC RINGS WITH DISCONNECTED TANGENTS.

Barringer collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

Goodyear, "Grammar of the Lotus," pl 8, fig. 23.

Fig. 24.

CONCENTRIC RINGS WITHOUT CONNECTION.

Farman collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

Goodyear, "Grammar of the Lotus," pl. 8, fig. 25.

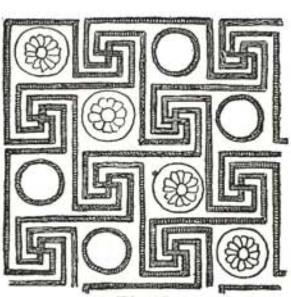


Fig. 25.

SPECIAL EGYPTIAN MEANDER.

An illustration of the theory of derivation from the spiral.

Goodyear, "Grammar of the Lotus," pl. 10, fig. 9.

On page 354, Goodyear says:

> The solar significance of the Swastika is proven by the Hindu coins of the Jains. Its generative significance is proven by a leaden statuette from Troy. It is an equivalent of the lotus (pl. 47, figs. 1, 2, 3), of the solar diagram (pl. 57, fig. 12, and pl. 60, fig. 8), of the rosette (pl. 20, fig. 8), of concentric rings (pl. 47, fig. 11), of the spiral scroll (pl. 34, fig. 8, and pl.

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[1] Cesnola, "Cyprus, its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples," p. 410.

[2] "Industrial Arts of India," p. 107.

[3] "Zur Geschichte der Swastika."

39, fig. 2), of the geometric boss (pl. 48, fig. 12), of the triangle (pl. 46, fig. 5), and of the anthemion (pl. 28, fig. 7, and pl. 30, fig. 4). It appears with the solar deer (pl. 60, figs. 1 and 2), with the solar antelope (pl. 37, fig. 9), with the symbolic fish (pl. 42, fig. 1), with the ibex (pl. 37, fig. 4), with the solar sphinx (pl. 34, fig. 8), with the solar lion (pl. 30, fig. 4), the solar ram (pl. 28, fig. 7), and the solar horse (pl. 61, figs. 1, 4, 5, and 12). Its most emphatic and constant association is with the solar bird (pl. 60, fig. 15; fig. 173).

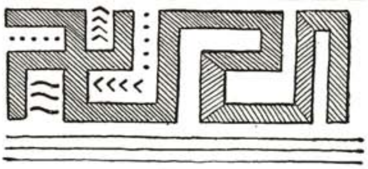

Fig. 26.

DETAIL OF GREEK VASE.

Meander and Swastika.

Goodyear, "Grammar of the Lotus," fig. 174.

Count Goblet d'Alviella, following Ludwig Müller, Percy Gardner, S. Beal, Edward Thomas, Max Müller, H. Gaidoz, and other authors, accepts their theory that the Swastika was a symbolic representation of the sun or of a sun god, and argues it fully.[1] He starts with the proposition that most of the nations of the earth have represented the sun by a circle, although some of them, notably the Assyrians, Hindus, Greeks, and Celts, have represented it by signs more or less cruciform. Examining his fig. 2, wherein signs of the various people are set forth, it is to be remarked that there is no similarity or apparent relationship between the six symbols given, either with themselves or with the sun. Only one of them, that of Assyria, pretends to be a circle; and it may or may not stand for the sun. It has no exterior rays. All the rest are crosses of different kinds. Each of the six symbols is represented as being from a single nation of people. They are prehistoric or of high antiquity, and most of them appear to have no other evidence of their representation of the sun than is contained in the sign itself, so that the first objection is to the premises, to wit, that while his symbols may have sometimes represented the sun, it is far from certain that they are used constantly or steadily as such. An objection is made to the theory or hypothesis presented by Count d'Alviella[2] that it is not

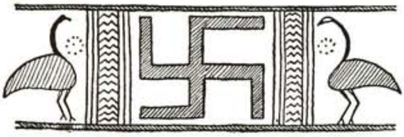

Fig. 27.

DETAIL OF GREEK GEOMETRIC VASE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Swastika, right, with solar geese.

Goodyear, "Grammar of the Lotus," p. 353, fig. 173.

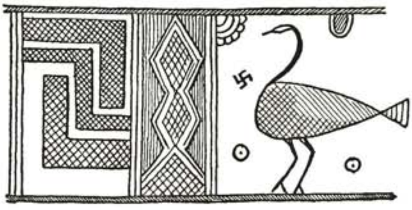

Fig. 28.

GREEK GEOMETRIC VASE.

Swastika with solar geese.

Goodyear, "Grammar of the Lotus," p. 353, fig. 172.

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[1] "La Migration des Symboles," chap. 2, pt. 3, p. 66.

[2] Ibid., p. 67.

the cross part of the Swastika which represents the sun, but its bent arms, which show the revolving motion, by which he says is evolved the tetraskelion or what in this paper is named the "Ogee Swastika." The author is more in accord with Dr. Brinton and others that the Swastika is derived from the cross and not from the wheel, that the bent arms do not represent rotary or gyratory motion, and that it had no association with, or relation to, the circle. This, if true, relieves the Swastika from all relation with the circle as a symbol of the sun. Besides, it is not believed that the symbol of the sun is one which required rotary or gyratory motion or was represented by it, but, as will be explained, in speaking of the Assyrian sun-god Shamash (p. 789), it is rather by a circle with pointed rays extending outward.

D'Alviella[1] presents several figures in support of his contention. The first (*a*) is on a fibula from Etruria (fig. 190 of this paper). His explanation is that the small circle of rays, bent at right angles, on the broad shield of the pin, represents graphically the rotary movement of the sun, and that the bent arms in the Swastikas on the same object are taken from them. It seems curious that so momentous a subject as the existence of a symbol of a great god, the god of light, heat, and thus of life, should be made to depend upon an object of so small importance. This specimen (fig. 190) is a fibula or pin, one of the commonest objects of Etruscan, Greek, or Roman dress. The decorations invoked are on the broad end, which has been flattened to protect the point of the pin, where appears a semicircle of so-called rays, the two Swastikas and two possible crosses. There is nothing about this pin, nor indeed any of the other objects, to indicate any holy or sacred character, nor that any of them were used in any ceremony having relation to the sun, to any god, or to anything holy or sacred. His fig. *b* is fig. 88 in this paper. It shows a quadrant of the sphere found by Schliemann at Hissarlik. There is a slightly indefinite circle with rays from the outside, which are bent and crooked in many directions. The sphere is of terra cotta; the marks that have been made on it are rough and ill formed. They were made by incision while the clay was soft and were done in the rudest manner. There are dozens more marks upon the same sphere, none of which seem to have received any consideration in this regard. There is a Swastika upon the sphere, and it is the only mark or sign upon the entire object that seems to have been made with care or precision. His third figure (*c*) is taken from a reliquaire of the thirteenth century A. D. It has a greater resemblance to the acanthus plant than it has to any solar disk imaginable. The other two figures (*d* and *e*) are tetraskelions or ogee Swastikas from ancient coins.

D'Alviella's next argument[2] is that the triskelion, formed by the same process as the tetraskelion, is an "incontestable" representation of solar movement. No evidence is submitted in support of this assertion, and the investigator of the present day is required, as in prehistoric objects, to depend entirely upon the object itself. The bent arms contain no innate evidence (even though they should be held to represent rotary or gyratory motion) representing the sun or sun gods. It is respectfully suggested that in times of antiquity, as in modern times, the sun is not represented as having a rotary motion, but is rather represented by a circle with diminishing rays projecting from the center or exterior. It seems unjustifiable, almost ridiculous, to transform the three flexed human legs, first appearing on the coins of Lycia, into a sun symbol, to make it the reliable evidence of sun worship, and give it a holy or sacred character as representing a god. It is surely pushing the argument too far to say that this is an "incontestable" representation of the solar movement. The illustrations by d'Alviella on his page 71 are practically the same as figs. 224 to 226 of this paper.

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[1] "La Migration des Symboles," p. 69.

[2] Ibid., p. 71.

Count d'Alviella's further argument[1] is that symbols of the sun god being frequently associated, alternated with, and sometimes replaced by, the Swastika, proves it to have been a sun symbol. But this is doubted, and evidence to sustain the proposition is wanting. Undoubtedly the Swastika was a symbol, was intentional, had a meaning and a degree of importance, and, while it may have been intended to represent the sun and have a higher and holier character, yet these mere associations are not evidence of the fact.

D'Alviella's plate 2, page 80, while divided into sections *a* and *b*, is filled only with illustrations of Swastika associated with circles, dots, etc., introduced for the purpose of showing the association of the Swastika therewith, and that the permutation and replacing of these signs by the Swastika is evidence that the Swastika represented the sun. Most of the same illustrations are presented in this paper, and it is respectfully submitted that the evidence does not bear out his conclusion. If it be established that these other symbols are representatives of the sun, how does that prove that the Swastika was itself a representative of the sun or the sun god? D'Alviella himself argues[2] against the proposition of equivalence of meaning because of association when applied to the *Crux ansata*, the circle, the crescent, the triskelion, the lightning sign, and other symbolic figures. He denies that because the Swastika is found on objects associated with these signs therefore they became interchangeable in meaning, or that the Swastika stood for any of them. The Count[2] says that more likely the engraver added the Swastika to these in the character of a talisman or phylactery. On page 56 he argues in the same line, that because it is found on an object of sacred character does not necessarily give it the signification of a sacred or holy symbol. He regards the Swastika as a symbol of good fortune, and sees no reason why it may not be employed as an invocation to a god of any name or kind on the principle, "Good Lord, good devil," quoting the Neapolitan proverb, that it will do no harm, and possibly may do good.

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[1] "La Migration des Symboles," pp. 72, 75, 77.

[2] Ibid., p. 61.

Prof. Max Müller[1] refers to the discovery by Prof. Percy Gardner of one of the coins of Mesembria, whereon the Swastika replaces the last two syllables of the word, and he regards this as decisive that in Greece the meaning of the Swastika was equivalent to the sun. This word, Mesembria, being translated *ville de midi*, means town or city of the south, or the sun. He cites from Mr. Thomas's paper on the "Indian Swastika and its Western Counterparts"[2] what he considers an equally decisive discovery made some years ago, wherein it was shown that the wheel, the emblem of the sun in motion, was replaced by the Swastika on certain coins; likewise on some of the Andhra coins and some punched gold coins noted by Sir Walter Elliott.[3] In these cases the circle or wheel alleged to symbolize the sun was replaced by the Swastika. The Swastika has been sometimes inscribed within the rings or normal circles representing what is said to be the four suns on Ujain patterns or coins (fig. 230). Other authorities have adopted the same view, and have extended it to include the lightning, the storm, the fire wheel, the sun chariot, etc. (See Ohnefalsch-Richter, p. 790.) This appears to be a *non sequitur*. All these speculations may be correct, and all these meanings may have been given to the Swastika, but the evidence submitted does not prove the fact. There is in the case of the foregoing coins no evidence yet presented as to which sign, the wheel or the Swastika, preceded and which followed in point of time. The Swastika may have appeared first instead of last, and may not have been a substitution for the disk, but an original design. The disk employed, while possibly representing the sun in some places, may not have done so always nor in this particular case. It assumes too much to say that every time a small circle appears on an ancient object it represented the sun, and the same observation can be made with regard to symbols of the other elements. Until it shall have been satisfactorily established that the symbols represented these elements with practical unanimity, and that the Swastika actually and intentionally replaced it as such, the theory remains undemonstrated, the burden rests on those who take the affirmative side; and until these points shall have been settled with some degree of probability the conclusion is not warranted.

As an illustration of the various significations possible, one has but to turn to Chapter IV, on the various meanings given to the cross among American Indians, where it is shown that among these Indians the cross represented the four winds, the sun, stars, dwellings, the dragon fly, midē′ society, flocks of birds, human form, maidenhood, evil spirit, and divers others.

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[1] Athenæum, August 20, 1892, p. 266.

[2] Numismatic Chronicle, 1880, XX, pp. 18-48.

[3] Madras Journ. of Lit. and Sci., III, pl. 9.

Mr. Edward Thomas, in his work entitled "The Indian Swastika and its Western Counterparts,"[1] says:

> As far as I have been able to trace or connect the various manifestations of this emblem [the Swastika], they one and all resolve themselves into the primitive conception of solar motion, which was intuitively associated with the rolling or wheel-like projection of the sun through the upper or visible arc of the heavens, as understood and accepted in the crude astronomy of the ancients. The earliest phase of astronomical science we are at present in position to refer to, with the still extant aid of indigenous diagrams, is the Chaldean. The representation of the sun in this system commences with a simple ring or outline circle, which is speedily advanced toward the impression of onward revolving motion by the insertion of a cross or four wheel-like spokes within the circumference of the normal ring. As the original Chaldean emblem of the sun was typified by a single ring, so the Indian mind adopted a similar definition, which remains to this day as the ostensible device or cast-mark of the modern Sauras or sun worshipers.

The same remarks are made in "Ilios" (pp. 353, 354).

The author will not presume to question, much less deny, the facts stated by this learned gentleman, but it is to be remarked that, on the theory of presumption, the circle might represent many other things than the sun, and unless the evidence in favor of the foregoing statement is susceptible of verification, the theory can hardly be accepted as conclusive. Why should not the circle represent other things than the sun? In modern astronomy the full moon is represented by the plain circle, while the sun, at least in heraldry, is always represented as a circle with rays. It is believed that the "cross or four wheel-like spokes" in the Chaldean emblem of the sun will be found to be rays rather that cross or spokes. A cast is in the U. S. National Museum (Cat. No. 154766) of an original specimen from Niffer, now in the Royal Museum, Berlin, of Shamash, the Assyrian god of the sun. He is represented on this monument by a solar disk, 4 inches in diameter, with eight rays similar to those of stars, their bases on a faint circle at the center, and tapering outwards to a point, the whole surrounded by another faint circle. This is evidence that the sun symbol of Assyria required rays as well as a circle. A similar representation of the sun god is found on a tablet discovered in the temple of the Sun God at Abu-Habba.[2]

Perrot and Chipiez[3] show a tablet from Sippara, of a king, Nabu-abal-iddin, 900 B. C., doing homage to the sun god (identified by the inscription), who is represented by bas-relief of a small circle in the center, with rays and lightning zigzags extending to an outer circle.

In view of these authorities and others which might be cited, it is questionable whether the plain circle was continuously a representation of the sun in the Chaldean or Assyrian astronomy. It is also doubtful whether, if the circle did represent the sun, the insertion of the cross or the four wheel-like spokes necessarily gave the impression of "onward revolving motion;" or whether any or all of the foregoing afford a satisfactory basis for the origin of the Swastika or for its relation to, or representation of, the sun or the sun god.

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[1] London, 1880.

[2] Rawlinson, "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," v, pl. 60; Trans. Soc. Biblical Archæology, VIII, p. 165.

[3] "History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria," I, p. 200, fig. 71.

Dr. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter[1] announces as his opinion that the Swastika in Cyprus had nearly always a signification more or less religious and sacred, though it may have been used as an ornament to fill empty spaces. He attributes to the *Croix swasticale*—or, as he calls it, *Croix cantonnée*—the equivalence of the solar disk, zigzag lightning, and double hatchet; while to the Swastika proper he attributes the signification of rain, storm, lightning, sun, light, seasons, and also that it lends itself easily to the solar disk, the fire wheel, and the sun chariot.

Greg[2] says:

> Considered finally, it may be asked if the fylfot or gammadion was an early symbol of the sun, or, if only an emblem of the solar revolutions or movements across the heavens, why it was drawn square rather than curved: The 卍, even if used in a solar sense, must have implied something more than, or something distinct from, the sun, whose proper and almost universal symbol was the circle. It was evidently more connected with the cross + than with the circle ◯ or solar disk.

Dr. Brinton[3] considers the Swastika as derived from the cross rather than from the circle, and the author agrees that this is probable, although it may be impossible of demonstration either way.

Several authors, among the rest d'Alviella, Greg, and Thomas, have announced the theory of the evolution of the Swastika, beginning with the triskelion, thence to the tetraskelion, and so to the Swastika. A slight examination is sufficient to overturn this hypothesis. In the first place, the triskelion, which is the foundation of this hypothesis, made its first appearance on the coins of Lycia. But this appearance was within what is called the first period of coinage, to wit, between 700 and 480 B. C., and it did not become settled until the second, and even the third period, 280 to 240 B. C., when it migrated to Sicily. But the Swastika had already appeared in Armenia, on the hill of Hissarlik, in the terramares of northern Italy, and on the hut-urns of southern Italy many hundred, possibly a thousand or more, years prior to that time. Count d'Alviella, in his plate 3 (see Chart I, p. 794), assigns it to a period of the fourteenth or thirteenth century B. C., with an unknown and indefinite past behind it. It is impossible that a symbol which first appeared in 480 B. C. could have been the ancestor of one which appeared in 1400 or 1300 B. C., nearly a thousand years before.

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[1] Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop., Paris, 1888, pp. 674, 675.

[2] Archæologia, XLVIII, pt. 2, p. 326.

[3] Proc. Amer. Philosoph. Soc., 1889, XXIX, p. 180.

William Simpson[1] makes observations upon the latest discoveries regarding the Swastika and gives his conclusion:

> * * * The finding of the Swastika in America gives a very wide geographical space that is included by the problem connected with it, but it is wider still, for the Swastika is found over the most of the habitable world, almost literally "from China to Peru," and it can be traced back to a very early period. The latest idea formed regarding the Swastika is that it may be a form of the old wheel symbolism and that it represents a solar movement, or perhaps, in a wider sense, the whole celestial movement of the stars. The Dharmachakra, or Buddhist wheel, of which the so-called "praying wheel" of the Lamas of Thibet is only a variant, can now be shown to have represented the solar motion. It did not originate with the Buddhists; they borrowed it from the Brahminical system to the Veda, where it is called "the wheel of the sun." I have lately collected a large amount of evidence on this subject, being engaged in writing upon it, and the numerous passages from the old Brahminical authorities leave no doubt in the matter. The late Mr. Edward Thomas * * * and Prof. Percy Gardner * * * declared that on some Andhra gold coins and one from Mesembria, Greece, the part of the word which means day, or when the sun shines, is represented by the Swastika. These details will be found in a letter published in the "Athenæum" of August 20, 1892, written by Prof. Max Müller, who affirms that it "is decisive" as to the meaning of the symbol in Greece. This evidence may be "decisive" for India and Greece, but it does not make us quite certain about other parts of the world. Still it raises a strong presumption that its meaning is likely to be somewhat similar wherever the symbol is found.
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> It is now assumed that the Triskelion or Three Legs of the Isle of Man is only a variant of the Swastika. * * * There are many variants besides this in which the legs, or limbs, differ in number, and they may all be classed as whorls, and were possibly all, more or less, forms intended originally to express circular motion. As the subject is too extensive to be fully treated here, and many illustrations would be necessary, to those wishing for further details I would recommend a work just published entitled "The Migration of Symbols," by Count Goblet d'Alviella, with an introduction by Sir George Birdwood. The frontispiece of the book is a representation of Apollo, from a vase in the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna, and on the middle of Apollo's breast there is a large and prominent Swastika. In this we have another instance going far to show its solar significance. While accepting these new interpretations of the symbol, I am still inclined to the notion that the Swastika may, at the same time, have been looked upon in some cases as a cross—that is, a pre-Christian cross, which now finds acceptance by some authorities as representing the four cardinal points. The importance of the cardinal points in primitive symbolism appears to me to have been very great, and has not as yet been fully realized. This is too large a matter to deal with here. All I can state is, that the wheel in India was connected with the title of a *Chakravartin*—from *Chakra*, a wheel—the title meaning a supreme ruler, or a universal monarch, who ruled the four quarters of the world, and on his coronation he had to drive his chariot, or wheel, to the four cardinal points to signify his conquest of them. Evidence of other ceremonies of the same kind in Europe can be produced. From instances such as these, I am inclined to assume that the Swastika, as a cross, represented the four quarters over which the solar power by its revolving motion carried its influence.

ORIGIN AND HABITAT.

Prehistoric archæologists have found in Europe many specimens of ornamental sculpture and engraving belonging to the Paleolithic age, but the cross is not known in any form, Swastika or other. In the Neolithic age, which spread itself over nearly the entire world, with many geometric forms of decoration, no form of the cross appears in times of high antiquity as a symbol or as indicating any other than an ornamental purpose. In the age of bronze, however, the Swastika appears, intentionally used, as a symbol as well as an ornament. Whether its first appearance was in the Orient, and its spread thence throughout prehistoric Europe, or whether the reverse was true, may not now be determined with certainty. It is believed by some to be involved in that other warmly disputed and much-discussed question as to the locality of origin and the mode and routes of dispersion of Aryan peoples. There is evidence to show that it belongs to an earlier epoch than this, and relates to the similar problem concerning the locality of origin and the mode and routes of the dispersion of bronze. Was bronze discovered in eastern Asia and was its migration westward through Europe, or was it discovered on the Mediterranean, and its spread thence? The Swastika spread through the same countries as did the bronze, and there is every reason to believe them to have proceeded contemporaneously—whether at their beginning or not, is undeterminable.

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[1] Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, January, 1895, pp. 84, 85.

The first appearance of the Swastika was apparently in the Orient, precisely in what country it is impossible to say, but probably in central and southeastern Asia among the forerunners or predecessors of the Bramins and Buddhists. At all events, a religious and symbolic signification was attributed to it by the earliest known peoples of these localities.

M. Michael Zmigrodzki, a Polish scholar, public librarian at Sucha, near Cracow, prepared and sent to the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago a manuscript chart in French, showing his opinion of the migration of the Swastika, which was displayed in the Woman's Building. It was arranged in groups: The prehistoric (or Pagan) and Christian. These were divided geographically and with an attempt at chronology, as follows:

I. Prehistoric:
    1. India and Bactria.
    2. Cyprus, Rhodes.
    3. North Europe.
    4. Central Europe.
    5. South Europe.
    6. Asia Minor.
    7. Greek and Roman epoch—Numismatics.
II. Christian:
    8. Gaul—Numismatics.
    9. Byzantine.
    10. Merovingian and Carlovingian.
    11. Germany.
    12. Poland and Sweden.
    13. Great Britain.

Lastly he introduces a group of the Swastika in the nineteenth century. He presented figures of Swastikas from these localities and representing these epochs. He had a similar display at the Paris Exposition of 1889, which at its close was deposited in the St. Germain Prehistoric Museum. I met M. Zmigrodzki at the Tenth International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archæology in Paris, and heard him present the results of his investigations on the Swastika. I have since corresponded with him, and he has kindly sent me separates of his paper published in the Archiyes für Ethnographie, with 266 illustrations of the Swastika; but on asking his permission to use some of the information in the chart at Chicago, he informed me he had already given the manuscript chart and the right to reproduce it to the Chicago Folk-Lore Society. The secretary of this society declined to permit it to pass out of its possession, though proffering inspection of it in Chicago.

In his elaborate dissertation Count Goblet d'Alviella[1] shows an earlier and prehistoric existence of the Swastika before its appearance on the hill of Hissarlik. From this earlier place of origin it, according to him, spread to the Bronze age terramares of northern Italy. All this was prior to the thirteenth century B. C. From the hill of Hissarlik it spread east and west; to the east into Lycaonia and Caucasus, to the west into Mycenæ and Greece; first on the pottery and then on the coins. From Greece it also spread east and west; east to Asia Minor and west to Thrace and Macedonia. From the terramares he follows it through the Villanova epoch, through Etruria and Grand Greece, to Sicily, Gaul, Britain, Germany, Scandinavia, to all of which migration he assigns various dates down to the second century B. C. It developed westward from Asia Minor to northern Africa and to Rome, with evidence in the Catacombs; on the eastward it goes into India, Persia, China, Tibet, and Japan. All this can be made apparent upon examination of the plate itself. It is introduced as Chart I, p. 794.

The author enters into no discussion with Count d'Alviella over the correctness or completeness of the migrations set forth in his chart. It will be conceded, even by its author, to be largely theoretical and impossible to verify by positive proof. He will only contend that there is a probability of its correctness. It is doubted whether he can maintain his proposition of the constant presence or continued appearance of the Swastika on altars, idols, priestly vestments, and sepulchral urns, and that this demonstrates the Swastika to have always possessed the attributes of a religious symbol. It appears to have been used more frequently upon the smaller and more insignificant things of everyday life—the household utensils, the arms, weapons, the dress, the fibulæ, and the pottery; and while this may be consonant with the attributes of the talisman or amulet or charm, it is still compatible with the theory of the Swastika being a sign or symbol for benediction, blessing, good fortune, or good luck; and that it was rather this than a religious symbol.

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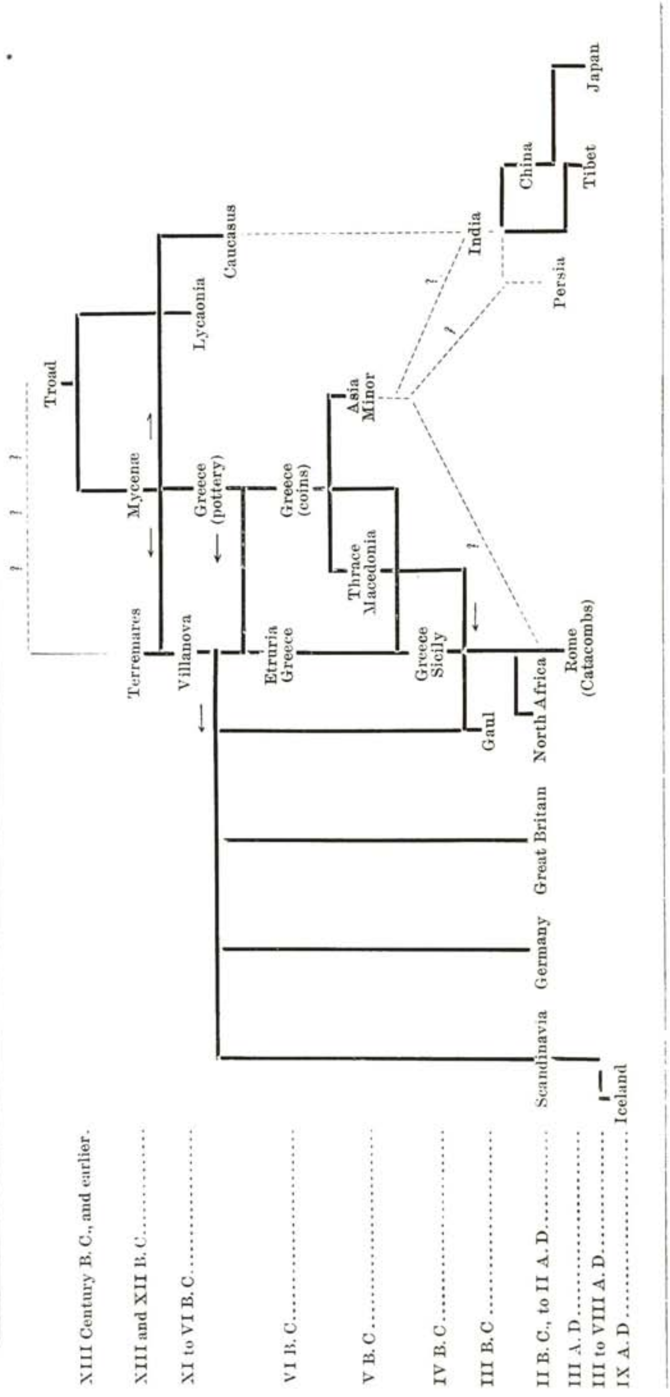
[1] "La Migration des Symboles," pl. 3.

CHART I.—*Probable introduction of the Swastika into different countries, according to Count Goblet d'Alviella.*

[“La Migration des Symboles,” pl. 3.]


XIII Century B. C., and earlier.
XIII and XII B. C.
XI to VI B. C.
VI B. C.
V B. C.
IV B. C.
III B. C.
II B. C., to II A. D.
III A. D.
III to VIII A. D.
IX A. D.
Troad
Lycaonia
Caucasus
Terremares
Mycenæ
Villanova
Greece (pottery)
Greece (coins)
Etruria Greece
Asia Minor
Thrace Macedonia
Greece Sicily
India
Persia
China
Tibet
Japan
Rome (Catacombs)
North Africa
Gaul
Great Britain
Germany
Scandinavia
Iceland
?

Count Goblet d'Alviella, in the fourth section of the second chapter[1] relating to the country of its origin, argues that the Swastika sign was employed by all the Aryans except the Persians. This omission he explains by showing that the Swastika in all other lands stood for the sun or for the sun-god, while the Aryans of Persia had other signs for the same thing—the *Crux ansata* and the winged globe. His conclusion is[2] that there were two zones occupied with different symbols, the frontier between them being from Persia, through Cyprus, Rhodes, and Asia Minor, to Libya; that the first belonged to the Greek civilization, which employed the Swastika as a sun symbol; the second to the Egypto-Babylonian, which employed the *Crux ansata* and the winged globe as sun symbols.

Professor Sayce, in his preface to "Troja," says:[3]

> The same symbol [the Swastika], as is well known, occurs on the Archaic pottery of Cyprus * * * as well as upon the prehistoric antiquities of Athens and Mykênæ [same, "Ilios," p. 353], but it was entirely unknown to Babylonia, to Assyria, to Phœnicia, and to Egypt. It must therefore either have originated in Europe and spread eastward through Asia Minor or have been disseminated westward from the primitive home of the Hittites. The latter alternative is the more probable; but whether it is so or not, the presence of the symbol in the land of the Ægean indicates a particular epoch and the influence of a pre-Phœnician culture.

Dr. Schliemann[4] reports that "Rev. W. Brown Keer observed the Swastika innumerable times in the most ancient Hindu temples, especially those of the Jainas."

Max Müller cites the following paragraph by Professor Sayce:[5]

> It is evident to me that the sign found at Hissarlik is identical with that found at Mycenæ and Athens, as well as on the prehistoric pottery of Cyprus (Di Cesnola, Cyprus, pls. 44 and 47), since the general artistic character of the objects with which this sign is associated in Cyprus and Greece agrees with that of the objects discovered in Troy. The Cyprian vase [fig. 156, this paper] figured in Di Cesnola's "Cyprus," pl. 45, which associates the Swastika with the figure of an animal, is a striking analogue of the Trojan whorls, on which it is associated with the figure of the stags. The fact that it is drawn within the vulva of the leaden image on the Asiatic goddess shown in fig. 226 ("Ilios," fig. 125 this paper) seems to show that it was a symbol of generation.

Count Goblet d'Alviella,[6] citing Albert Dumont[7] and Perrot and Chipiez,[8] says:

> The Swastika appears in Greece, as well as in Cyprus and Rhodes, first on the pottery, with geometric decorations, which form the second period in Greek ceramics. From that it passes to a later period, where the decoration is more artistic and the appearance of which coincides with the development of the Phœnician influences on the coasts of Greece.

Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter, in a paper devoted to the consideration of the Swastika in Cyprus,[1] expresses the opinion that the emigrant or commercial Phenicians traveling in far eastern countries brought the Swastika by the sea route of the Persian Gulf to Asia Minor and Cyprus, while, possibly, other people brought it by the overland route from central Asia, Asia Minor, and Hissarlik, and afterwards by migration to Cyprus, Carthage, and the north of Africa.

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[1] "La Migration des Symboles," p. 93.

[2] Ibid., p. 107.

[3] "Ilios.," p. XXI.'

[4] Ibid, p. 352.

[5] Ibid, p. 353.

[6] "La Migration des Symboles," p. 43.

[7] "Peintures céramiques de la Grèce propre," I, pl. XV, fig. 17.

[8] "Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité," III, figs. 513, 515, 518.

Professor Goodyear says:[2]

> The true home of the Swastika is the Greek geometric style, as will be immediately obvious to every expert who examines the question through the study of that style. In seeking the home of a symbol, we should consider where it appears in the largest dimension and where it appears in the most formal and prominent way. The Greek geometric vases are the only monuments on which the Swastika systematically appears in panels exclusively assigned to it (pl. 60, fig. 13; and pl. 56, fig. 4). There are no other monuments on which the Swastika can be found in a dimension taking up one-half the height of the entire object (pl. 56, fig. 4). The ordinary size of the Swastika, in very primitive times, is under a third of an inch in diameter. They are found in Greek geometric pottery 2 or 3 inches in diameter, but they also appear in the informal scattering way (pl. 61, fig. 4) which characterizes the Swastika in other styles.
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> * * * * * * *
>
> The Swastika dates from the earliest diffusion of the Egyptian meander in the basin of the Mediterranean, and it is a profound remark of De Morgan (Mission Scientifique au Caucase) that the area of the Swastika appears to be coextensive with the area of bronze. In northern prehistoric Europe, where the Swastika has attracted considerable attention, it is distinctly connected with the bronze culture derived from the south. When found on prehistoric pottery of the north, the southern home of its beginnings is equally clear.
>
> In seeking the home of a symbol, we should consider not only the nature of its appearance, but also where it is found in the largest amount, for this shows the center of vogue and power—that is to say, the center of diffusion. The vogue of the Swastika at Troy is not as great as its vogue in Cyprian Greek pottery (pl. 60, fig. 15) and Rhodian pottery (pl. 60, fig. 2). * * * It is well known to Melian vases (pl. 60, fig. 8) and to archaic Greek vases (pl. 61, fig. 12), but its greatest prominence is on the pottery of the Greek geometric style (pl. 60, fig. 13; pl. 56, fig. 4; pl. 61, figs. 1 and 4; and figs. 173 and 174). * * *
>
> Aside from the Greek geometric style, our earliest reference for the Swastika, and very possibly an earlier reference than the first, is its appearance on the "hut urns" of Italy. On such it appears rather as a fragment of the more complicated meander patterns, from which it is derived. My precise view is that the earliest and, consequently, imperfect, forms of the Swastika are on the hut urns of Italy, but that, as an independent and definitely shaped pattern, it first belongs to the Greek geometric style. I do not assert that the Swastika is very common on hut urns, which are often undecorated. * * * Our present intermediate link with India for the Swastika lies in [illegible] Caucasus and in the adjacent territory of Koban. This last ancient center of the arts in metal has lately attracted attention through the publication of Virchow (Das Gräberfeld von Koban). In the original Coban bronzes of the Prehistoric Museum of St. Germain there is abundant matter for study (p. 351).

Mr. R. P. Greg, in "Fret or Key Ornamentation in Mexico and Peru,"[3] says:

> Both the Greek fret and the fylfot appear to have been unknown to the Semitic nations as an ornament or as a symbol.

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[1] Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop., Paris, December 6, 1888, pp. 669, 679, 680.

[2] "Grammar of the Lotus," p. 348 et seq.

[3] Archæologia, XLVII, pt. 1, p. 159.

> In Egypt the fylfot does not occur. It is, I believe, generally admitted or supposed that the fylfot is of early Aryan origin. Eastward toward India, Tibet, and China it was adopted, in all probability, as a sacred symbol of Buddha; westward it may have spread in one form or another to Greece, Asia Minor, and even to North Germany.

Cartailhac says:[1]

> Modern Christian archæologists have obstinately contended that the Swastika was composed of four gamma, and so have called it the Croix Gammée. But the Ramâyana placed it on the boat of the Rama long before they had any knowledge of Greek. It is found on a number of Buddhist edifices; the Sectarians of Vishnu placed it as a sign upon their foreheads. Burnouf says it is the Aryan sign par excellence. It was surely a religious emblem in use in India fifteen centuries before the Christian era, and thence it spread to every part. In Europe it appeared about the middle of the civilization of the bronze age, and we find it, pure or transformed into a cross, on a mass of objects in metal or pottery during the first age of iron. Sometimes its lines were rounded and given a graceful curve instead of straight and square at its ends and angles. [See letter by Gandhi, pp. 803, 805.]

M. Cartailhac notes[2] several facts concerning the associations of the Swastika found by him in Spain and Portugal and belonging to the first (prehistoric) age of iron: (1) The Swastika was associated with the silhouettes of the duck or bird, similar to those in Greece, noted by Goodyear; (2) the association (in his fig. 41) on a slab from the lake dwellings, of the Maltese cross and reproduction of the triskelion; (3) a tetraskelion, which he calls a Swastika "flamboyant," being the triskelion, but with four arms, the same shown on Lycian coins as being ancestors of the true triskelion (his fig. 412); (4) those objects were principally found in the ancient lake dwellings of Sambroso and Briteiros, supposedly dating from the eighth and ninth centuries B. C. With them were found many ornaments, borders representing cords, spirals, meanders, etc., which had the same appearance as those found by Schliemann at Mycenæ. Cartailhac says:[3]

> Without doubt Asiatic influences are evident in both cases; first appearing in the Troad, then in Greece, they were spread through Iberia and, possibly, who can tell, finally planted in a far-away Occident.

A writer in the Edinburgh Review, in an extended discussion on "The pre-Christian cross," treats of the Swastika under the local name of "Fylfot," but in such an enigmatical and uncertain manner that it is difficult to distinguish it from other and commoner forms of the cross. Mr. Waring[4] criticises him somewhat severely for his errors:

> He states that it is found * * * in the sculptured stones of Scotland (but after careful search we can find only one or two imperfect representations of it, putting aside the Newton stone inscription, where it is probably a letter or numeral only); that it is carved on the temples and other edifices of Mexico and Central America (where again we have sought for it in vain); that it is found on the cinerary urns of the terramare of Parma and Vicenza, the date of which has been assigned by Italian antiquaries to 1000 B. C. (but there again we have found only the plain

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[1] "Ages Prehistorique de l'Espagne et du Portugal," pp. 285–293.

[2] Ibid., p. 286.

[3] Ibid., p. 293.

[4] "Ceramic Art in Remote Ages," p. 13.

cross, and not the fylfot), and, finally, he asserts that "it was the emblem of Libitina or Persephone, the awful Queen of the Shades, and is therefore commonly found on the dress of the tumulorum fossor in the Roman catacombs," but we have only found one such example. "It is noteworthy, too," he continues, "in reference to its extreme popularity, or the superstitious veneration in which it has been also universally held, that the cross pattée, or cruciform hammer (but we shall show these are different symbols), was among the very last of purely pagan symbols which was religiously preserved in Europe long after the establishment of Christianity (not in Europe, but in Scandinavia and wherever the Scandinavians had penetrated). * * * It may be seen upon the bells of many of our parish churches, as at Appleby, Mexborough, Haythersaye, Waddington, Bishop's Norton, West Barkwith, and other places, where it was placed as a magical sign to subdue the vicious spirit of the tempest;" and he subsequently points out its constant use in relation to water or rain.

Mr. Waring continues:

> The Rev. C. Boutell, in "Notes and Queries," points out that it is to be found on many mediæval monuments and bells, and occurs—e. g., at Appleby in Lincolnshire (peopled by Northmen)—as an initial cross to the formula on the bell "Sta. Maria, o. p. n. and c." In these cases it has clearly been adopted as a Christian symbol. In the same author's "Heraldry," he merely describes it as a mystic cross.

Mr. Waring makes one statement which, being within his jurisdiction, should be given full credit. He says, on page 15:

> It [the Swastika] appears in Scotland and England only in those parts where Scandinavians penetrated and settled, but is not once found in any works of purely Irish or Franco-Celtic art.

He qualifies this, however, by a note:

> I believe it occurs twice on an "Ogam" stone in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, figured in Wilde's Catalogue (p. 136), but the fylfots are omitted in the wood cut. [See fig. 215.]

Dr. Brinton,[1] describing the normal Swastika, "with four arms of equal length, the hook usually pointing from left to right," says: "In this form it occurs in India and on very early (Neolithic) Grecian, Italic, and Iberian remains." Dr. Brinton is the only author who, writing at length or in a critical manner, attributes the Swastika to the Neolithic period in Europe, and in this, more than likely, he is correct. Professor Virchow's opinion as to the antiquity of the hill of Hissarlik, wherein Dr. Schliemann found so many Swastikas, should be considered in this connection. (See p. 832, 833 of this paper.) Of course, its appearance among the aborigines of America, we can imagine, must have been within the Neolithic period.

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[1] Proc. Amer. Philosoph. Soc., 1889, XXIX, p. 179.

II.—DISPERSION OF THE SWASTIKA.

EXTREME ORIENT.

JAPAN.

The Swastika was in use in Japan in ancient as well as modern times. Fig. 29 represents a bronze statue of Buddha, one-fifteenth natural size, from Japan, in the collection of M. Cernuschi, Paris. It has eight Swastikas on the pedestal, the ends all turned at right angles to the right. This specimen is shown by De Mortillet[1] because it relates to prehistoric man. The image or statue holds a cane in the form of a "tintinnabulum," with movable rings arranged to make a jingling noise, and De Mortillet inserted it in his volume to show the likeness of this work in Japan with a number of similar objects found in the Swiss lake dwellings in the prehistoric age of bronze (p. 806).

The Swastika mark was employed by the Japanese on their porcelain. Sir Augustus W. Franks[2] shows one of these marks, a small Swastika turned to the left and inclosed in a circle (fig. 30). Fig. 9 also represents a mark on Japanese bronzes.[3]

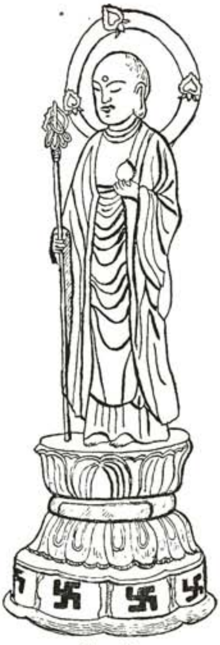

Fig. 29.

BRONZE STATUE OF BUDDHA.

Japan.

Eight Swastikas on pedestal. Cane tintinnabulum with six movable rings or bells.

One fifteenth natural size.

KOREA.

The U. S. National Museum has a ladies' sedan or carrying chair from Korea. It bears eight Swastika marks, cut by stencil in the brass-bound corners, two on each corner, one looking each way. The Swastika is normal, with arms crossing at right angles, the ends bent at right angles and to the right. It is quite plain; the lines are all straight, heavy, of equal thickness, and the angles all at 90 degrees. In appearance it resembles the Swastika in fig. 9.

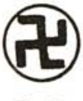

Fig. 30.

JAPANESE POTTER'S MARK ON PORCELAIN.

De Mortillet, "Musée Préhistorique," fig. 1248.

CHINA.

In the Chinese language the sign of the Swastika is pronounced *wan* (p. 801), and stands for "many," "a great number," "ten thousand," "infinity," and by a synecdoche is construed to mean "long life, a multitude of blessings, great happiness," etc.; as is said in French, "mille pardons," "mille remercîments," a thousand thanks, etc. During a visit to the Chinese legation in the city of Washington, while this paper was in progress, the author met one of the attachés, Mr. Chung, dressed in his robes of state; his outer garment was of moiré silk. The pattern woven in the fabric consisted of a large circle with certain marks therein, prominent among which were two Swastikas, one turned to the right, the other to the left. The name given to the sign was as reported above, wan, and the signification was "longevity," "long life," "many years." Thus was shown that in far as well as near countries, in modern as well as ancient times, this sign stood for blessing, good wishes, and, by a slight extension, for good luck.

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[1] "Musée Préhistorique," fig. 1230; Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop., Paris., 1886, pp. 299, 313, 314.

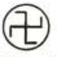
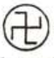
[2] "Catalogue of Oriental Porcelain and Pottery," pl. 11, fig. 139.

[3] De Morgan, "Au Caucase," fig. 180.

The author conferred with the Chinese minister, Yang Yu, with the request that he should furnish any appropriate information concerning the Swastika in China. In due course the author received the following letter and accompanying notes with drawings:

> * * * I have the pleasure to submit abstracts from historical and literary works on the origin of the Swastika in China and the circumstances connected with it in Chinese ancient history. I have had this paper translated into English and illustrated by india-ink drawings. The Chinese copy is made by Mr. Ho Yen-Shing, the first secretary of the legation, translation by Mr. Chung, and drawings by Mr. Li.
>
> With assurance of my high esteem, I am,
>
> Very cordially,
>
> YANG YU.

Buddhist philosophers consider simple characters as half or incomplete characters and compound characters as complete characters, while the Swastika 卐 is regarded as a natural formation. A Buddhist priest of the Tang Dynasty, Tao Shih by name, in a chapter of his work entitled Fa Yuen Chu Lin, on the original Buddha, describes him as having this 卐 mark on his breast and sitting on a high lily of innumerable petals. [Pl. 1.]

Empress Wu (684–704 A. D.), of the Tang Dynasty, invented a number of new forms for characters already in existence, amongst which  was the word for sun, ② for moon, ◯ for star, and so on. These characters were once very extensively used in ornamental writing, and even now the word  sun may be found in many of the famous stone inscriptions of that age, which have been preserved to us up to the present day. [Pl. 2.]

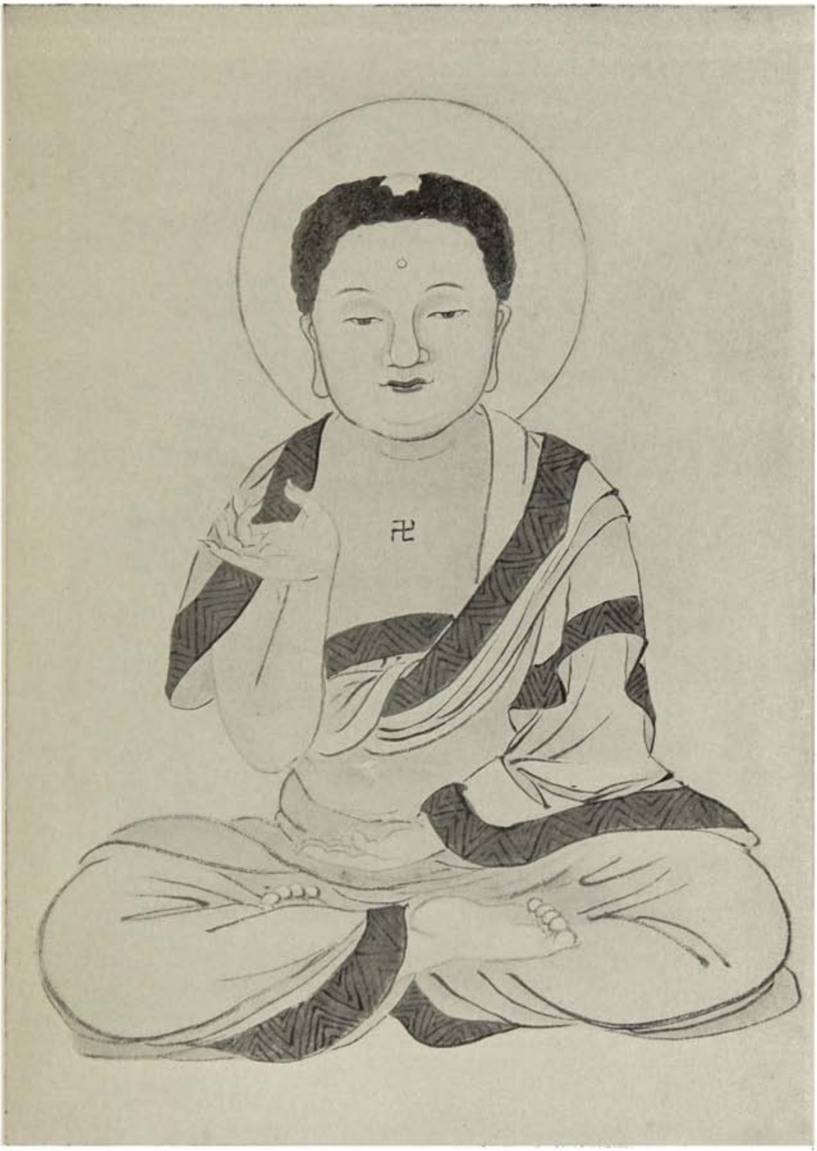
The history of the Tang Dynasty (620–906 A. D.), by Lui Hsu and others of the Tsin Dynasty, records a decree issued by Emperor Tai Tsung (763–779 A. D.) forbidding the use of the Swastika on silk fabrics manufactured for any purpose. [Pl. 3.]

Fung Tse, of the Tang Dynasty, records a practice among the people of Loh-yang to endeavor, on the 7th of the 7th month of each year, to obtain spiders to weave the Swastika on their web. Kung Ping-Chung, of the Sung Dynasty, says that the people of Loh-yang believe it to be good luck to find the Swastika woven by spiders over fruits or melons. [Pl. 4.]

Sung Pai, of the Sung Dynasty, records an offering made to the Emperor by Li Yuen-su, a high official of the Tang Dynasty, of a buffalo with a Swastika on the forehead, in return for which offering he was given a horse by the Emperor. [Pl. 5.]

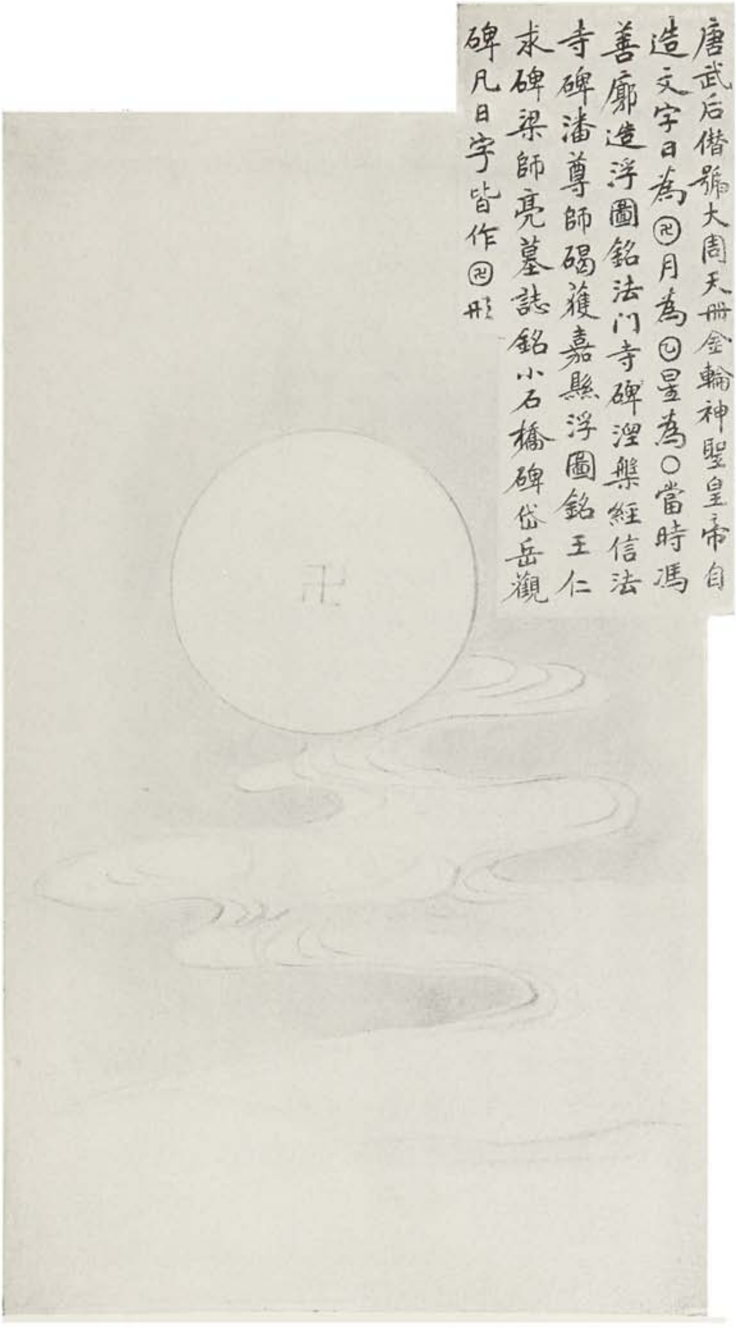
The Ts'ing-I-Luh, by Tao Kuh, of the Sung Dynasty, records that an Empress in

PLATE 1.



ORIGIN OF BUDDHA ACCORDING TO TAO SHIH, WITH SWASTIKA SIGN.

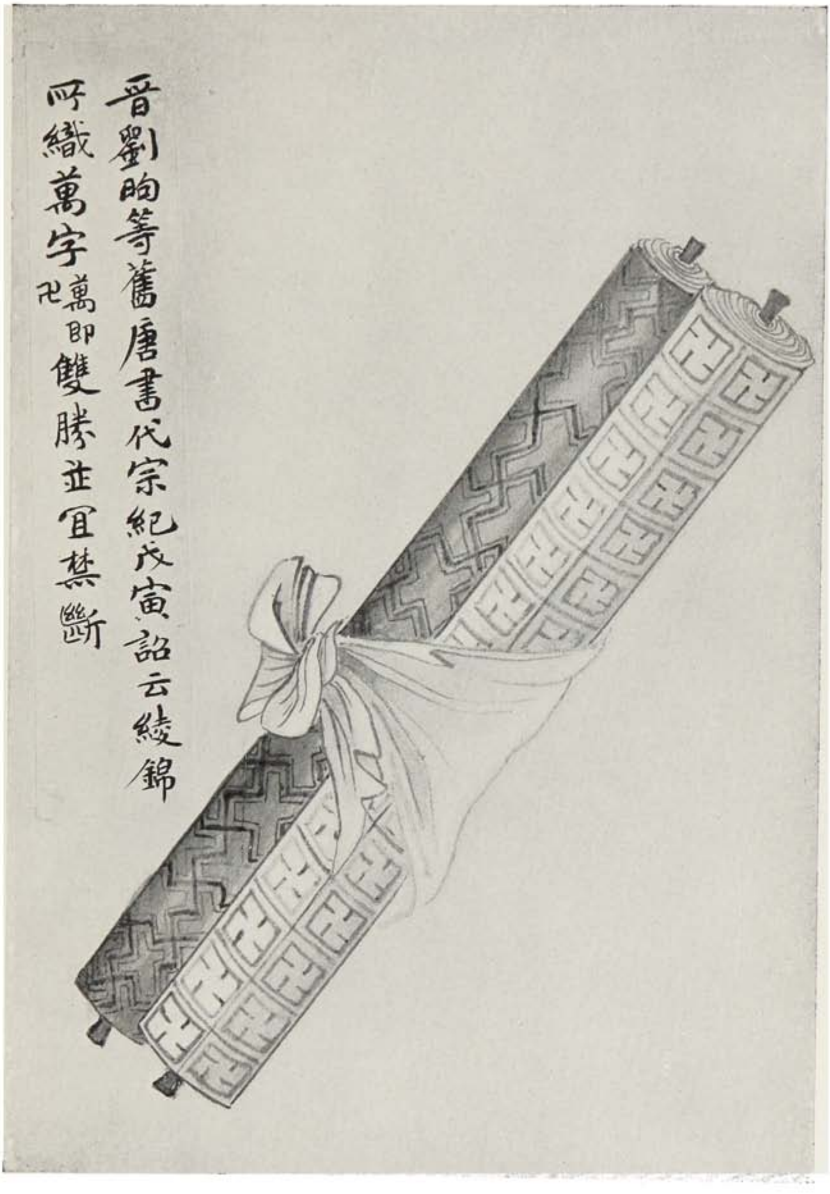
From a drawing by Mr. Li, presented to the U. S. National Museum by Mr. Yang Yü, Chinese Minister, Washington, D. C.



唐武后僭號大周天冊金輪神聖皇帝自造文字日為卍月為◎星為〇當時馮善廓造浮圖銘法门寺碑涅槃經信法寺碑潘尊師碣獲嘉縣浮圖銘王仁求碑梁師亮墓誌銘小石橋碑岱岳觀碑凡日字皆作卍形

SWASTIKA DECREED BY EMPRESS WU (684-704 A. D.) AS A SIGN FOR SUN IN CHINA.

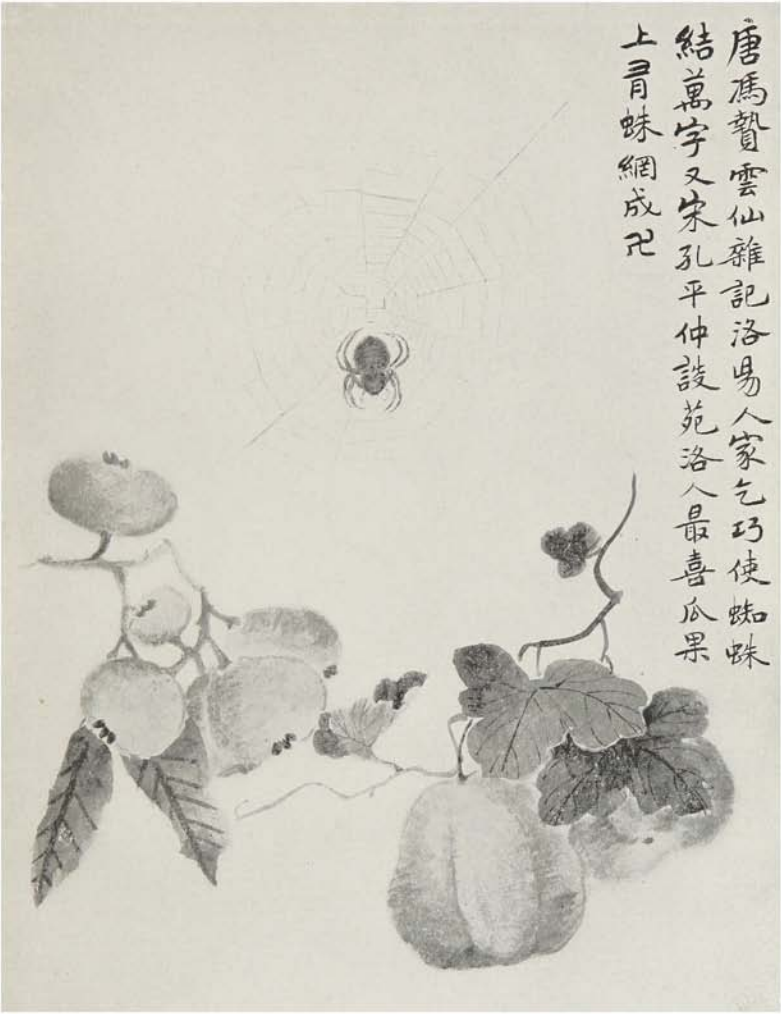
From a drawing by Mr. Li, presented to the U. S. National Museum by Mr. Yang Yü, Chinese Minister, Washington, D. C.


晋劉昫等舊唐書代宗紀戊寅詔云綾錦
所織萬字（萬即卍）雙勝並宜禁斷

SWASTIKA DESIGN ON SILK FABRICS.

This use of the Swastika was forbidden in China by Emperor Tai Tsung (763–779 A. D.).

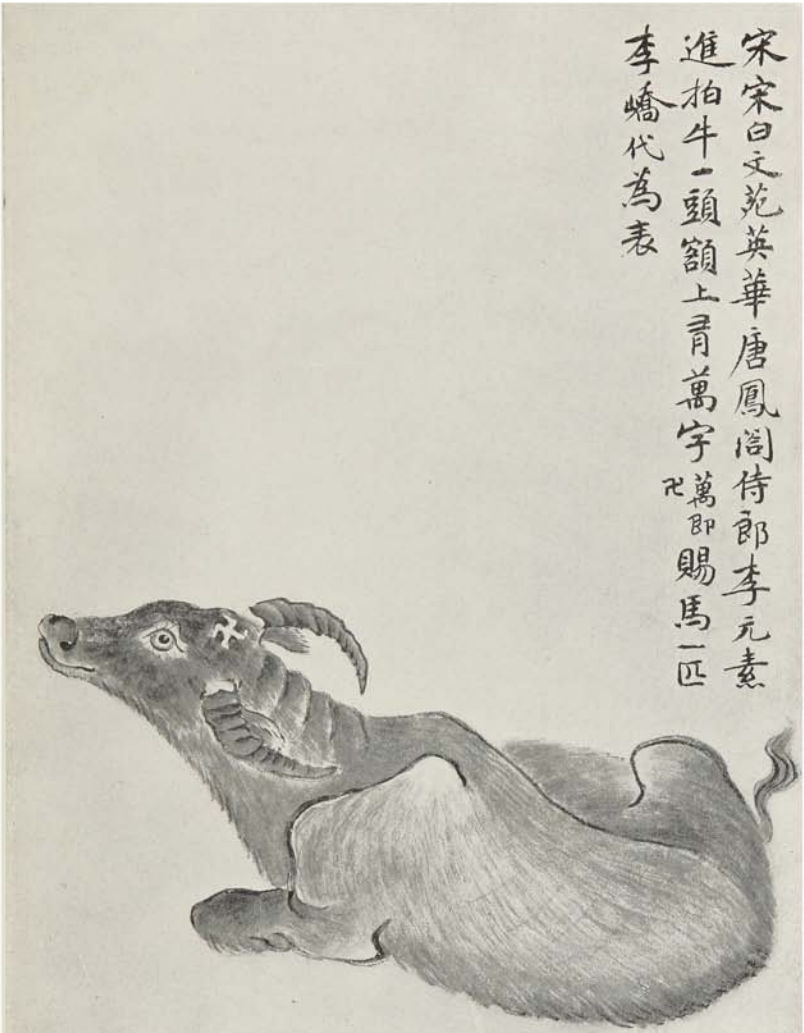
From a drawing by Mr. Li, presented to the U. S. National Museum by Mr. Yang Yü, Chinese Minister, Washington, D. C.


唐馮贄雲仙雜記洛陽人家乞巧使蜘蛛
結萬字又宋孔平仲談苑洛人最喜瓜果
上有蛛網成卍

SWASTIKA IN SPIDER WEB OVER FRUIT.

(A good omen in China.)

From a drawing by Mr. Li, presented to the U. S. National Museum by Mr. Yang Yü, Chinese Minister, Washington, D. C.

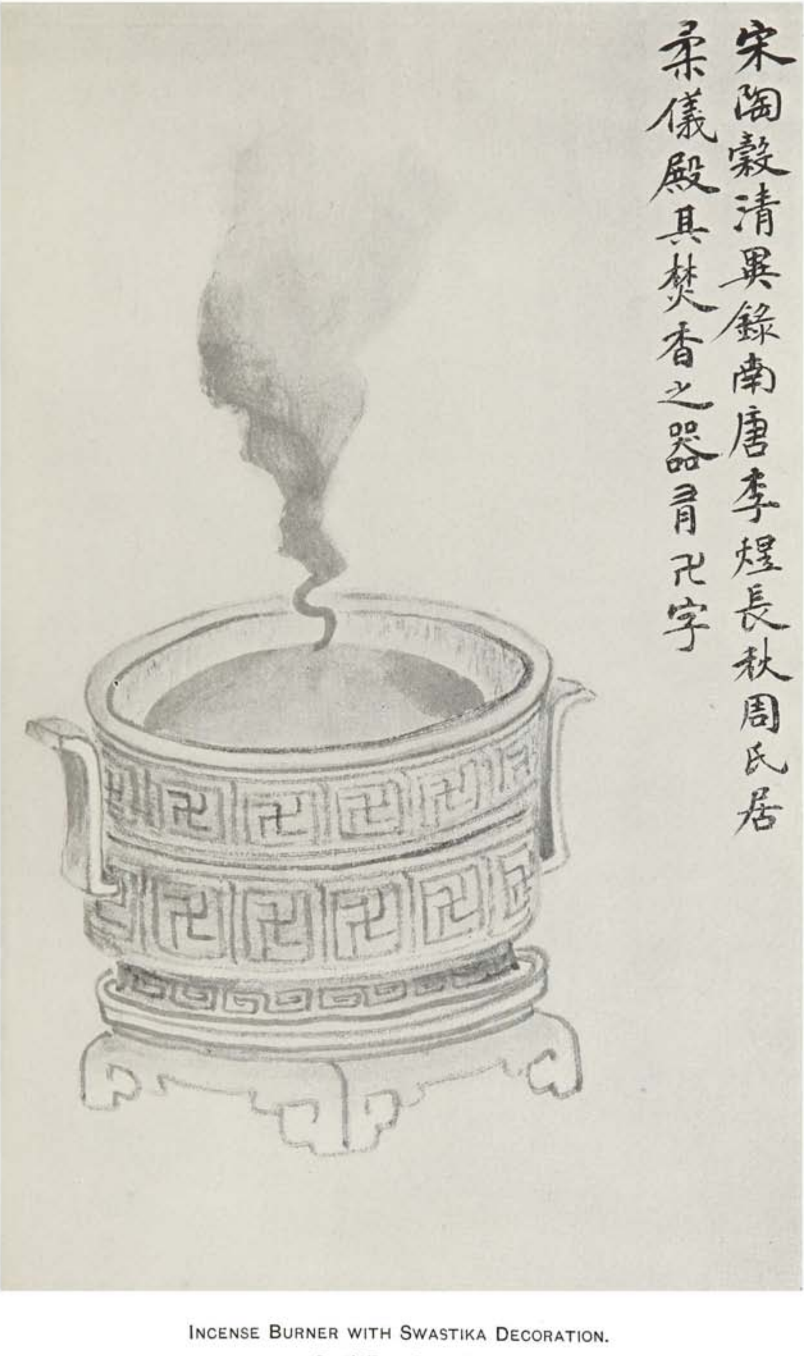


宋宋白文苑英華唐鳳閣侍郎李元素
進拍牛一頭額上有萬字（萬即卍）賜馬一匹
李嶠代為表

BUFFALO WITH SWASTIKA ON FOREHEAD.

Presented to Emperor of Sung Dynasty.

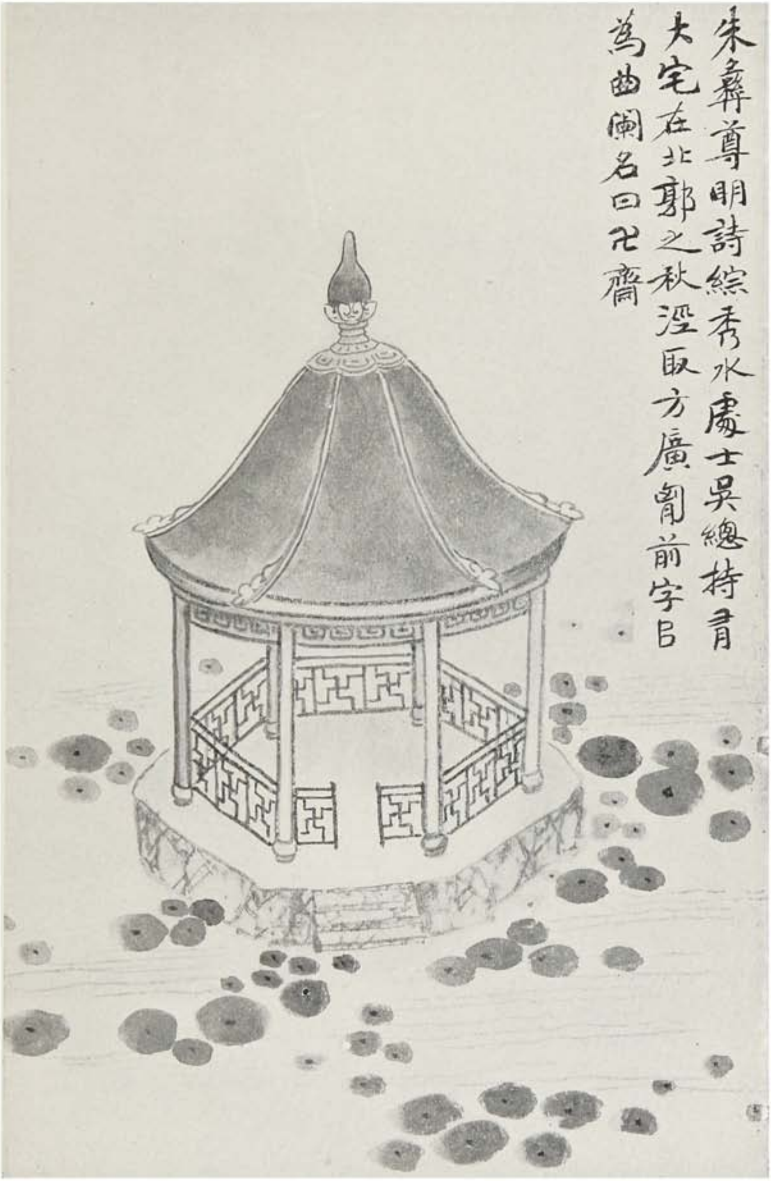
From a drawing by Mr. Li, presented to the U. S. National Museum by Mr. Yang Yü, Chinese Minister, Washington, D. C.


宋陶穀清異錄南唐李煜長秋周氏居
柔儀殿其焚香之器有卍字

INCENSE BURNER WITH SWASTIKA DECORATION.

South Tang Dynasty.

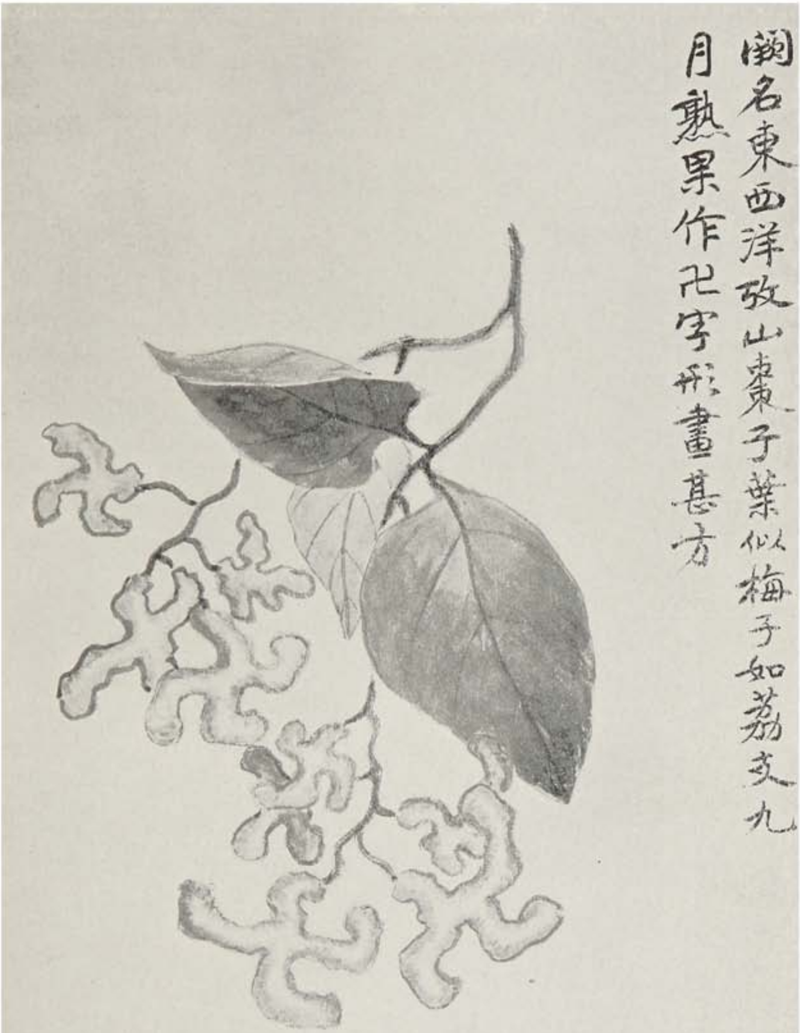
From a drawing by Mr. Li, presented to the U. S National Museum by Mr. Yang Yü, Chinese Minister, Washington D. C.



朱彝尊明詩綜秀水處士吳總持青
夫宅在北郭之秋涇取方廣寓前字㠯
爲曲闌名曰卍齋

HOUSE OF WU TSUNG-CH.H OF SIN SHUI, WITH SWASTIKA IN RAILING

From a drawing by Mr. Li, presented to the U. S. National Museum by Mr. Yang Yü, Chinese Minister, Washington, D. C.



㘓名東西洋玫山棗子葉似梅子如荔支九月熟果作卍字形畫甚方

MOUNTAIN OR WILD DATE.—FRUIT RESEMBLING THE SWASTIKA.

From a drawing by Mr. Li, presented to the U. S. National Museum by Mr. Yang Yü, Chinese Minister, Washington, D. C.

the time of the South Tang Dynasty had an incense burner the external decoration of which had the Swastika design on it. [Pl. 6.]

Chu I-Tsu, in his work entitled Ming Shih Tsung, says Wu Tsung-Chih, a learned man of Sin Shui, built a residence outside of the north gate of that town, which he named "Wan-Chai," from the Swastika decoration of the railings about the exterior of the house. [Pl. 7.]

An anonymous work, entitled the Tung Hsi Yang K'ao, described a fruit called shan-tsao-tse (mountain or wild date), whose leaves resemble those of the plum. The seed resembles the lichee, and the fruit, which ripens in the ninth month of the year, suggests a resemblance to the Swastika. [Pl. 8.]

The Swastika is one of the symbolic marks of the Chinese porcelain. Prime[1] shows what he calls a "tablet of honor," which represents a Swastika inclosed in a lozenge with loops at the corners (fig. 31). This mark on a piece of porcelain signifies that it is an imperial gift.

Major-General Gordon, controller of the Royal Arsenal at Woolwich, England, writes to Dr. Schliemann:[2] "The Swastika is Chinese. On the breech chasing of a large gun lying outside my office, captured in the Taku fort, you will find this same sign." But Dumoutier[3] says this sign is nothing else than the ancient Chinese character *c h e*, which, according to D'Alviella,[4] carries the idea of perfection or excellence, and signifies the renewal and perpetuity of life. And again,[2] "Dr. Lockyer, formerly medical missionary to China, says the sign 卍 is thoroughly Chinese."

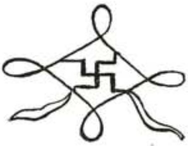


Fig. 31.

POTTER'S MARK ON PORCELAIN.

China.

Tablet of honor, with Swastika.

Prime, "Pottery and Porcelain," p. 254.

The Swastika is found on Chinese musical instruments. The U. S. National Museum possesses a Hu-Ch'in, a violin with four strings, the body of which is a section of bamboo about 3½ inches in diameter. The septum of the joint has been cut away so as to leave a Swastika of normal form, the four arms of which are connected with the outer walls of the bamboo. Another, a Ti-Ch'in, a two-stringed violin, with a body of cocoanut, has a carving which is believed to have been a Swastika; but the central part has been broken out, so that the actual form is undetermined.

Prof. George Frederick Wright, in an article entitled "Swastika,"[5] quotes Rev. F. H. Chalfont, missionary at Chanting, China, as saying: "Same symbol in Chinese characters 'ouan,' or 'wan,' and is a favorite ornament with the Chinese."

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[1] "Pottery and Porcelain," p. 254.

[2] "Ilios," p. 352.

[3] "Le Swastika et la roue solaire en Chine," Revue d'Ethnographie, IV, pp. 319, 350.

[4] "La Migration des Symboles," p. 55.

[5] New York Independent, November 16, 1893; Science, March 23, 1894, p. 162.

TIBET.

Mr. William Woodville Rockhill,[1] speaking of the fair at Kumbum, says:

> I found there a number of Lh'asa Tibetans (they call them Gopa here) selling pulo, beads of various colors, saffron, medicines, peacock feathers, incense sticks, etc. I had a talk with these traders, several of whom I had met here before in 1889. * * * One of them had a Swastika (yung-drung) tattooed on his hand, and I learned from this man that this is not an uncommon mode of ornamentation in his country.

Count D'Alviella says that the Swastika is continued among the Buddhists of Tibet; that the women ornament their petticoats with it, and that it is also placed upon the breasts of their dead.[2]

He also reports[3] a Buddhist statue at the Musée Guimet with Swastikas about the base. He does not state to what country it belongs, so the author has no means of determining if it is the same statue as is represented in fig. 29.

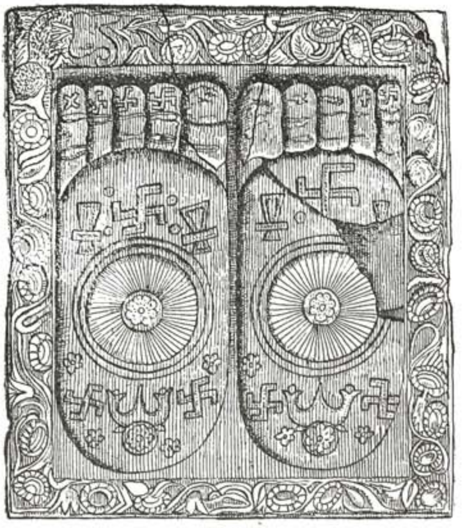

Fig. 32.

FOOTPRINT OF BUDDHA WITH SWASTIKA, FROM AMARAVATI TOPE.

From a figure by Fergusson and Schliemann.

INDIA.

Burnouf[4] says approvingly of the Swastika:

> Christian archæologists believe this was the most ancient sign of the cross. * * * It was used among the Brahmins from all antiquity. (Voyez mot "Swastika" dans notre dictionnaire sanskrit.) Swastika, or Swasta, in India corresponds to "benediction" among Christians.

The same author, in his translation of the "Lotus de la Bonne Loi," one of the nine Dharmas or Canonical books of the Buddhists of the North, of 280 pages, adds an appendix of his own writing of 583 pages; and in one (No. 8) devoted to an enumeration and description of the sixty-five figures traced on the footprint of Çakya (fig. 32) commences as follows:

> 1. *Svastikaya:* This is the familiar mystic figure of many Indian sects, represented

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[1] "Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891–92," p. 67.

[2] "La Migration des Symboles," p. 55, citing note I, Journ. Asiatique, 2e série, IV, p. 245, and Pallas, "Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten über die mongolischen Völkerschaften," I, p. 277.

[3] Ibid., p. 55.

[4] "Des Sciences et Religion," p. 256.

thus, 卐, and whose name signifies, literally, "sign of benediction or of good augury." (Rgya tch'er rol pa, Vol. 11, p. 110.)

* * * The sign of the Swastika was not less known to the Brahmins than to the Buddhists. "Ramayana," Vol. II, p. 348, ed. Gor., Chap. XCVII, st. 17, tells of vessels on the sea bearing this sign of fortune. This mark, of which the name and usage are certainly ancient, because it is found on the oldest Buddhist medals, may have been used as frequently among the Brahmins as among the Buddhists. Most of the inscriptions on the Buddhist caverns in western India are either preceded or followed by the holy (*sacramentelle*) sign of the Swastika. It appears less common on the Brahmin monuments.

Mr. W. Crooke (Bengal Civil Service, director of Eth. Survey, Northwest Provinces and Oudh), says:[1]

The mystical emblem of the Swastika, which appears to represent the sun in his journey through the heavens, is of constant occurrence. The trader paints it on the flyleaf of his ledger, he who has young children or animals liable to the evil eye makes a representation of it on the wall beside his doorpost. It holds first place among the lucky marks of the Jainas. It is drawn on the shaven heads of children on the marriage day in Gujarat. A red circle with Swastika in the center is depicted on the place where the family gods are kept (Campbell, Notes, p. 70). In the Meerut division the worshiper of the village god Bhumiya constructs a rude model of it in the shrine by fixing up two crossed straws with a daub of plaster. It often occurs in folklore. In the drama of the Toy Cart the thief hesitates whether he shall make a hole in the wall of Charudatta's house in the form of a Swastika or of a water jar (Manning, Ancient India, 11, 160).

Village shrines.—The outside (of the shrines) is often covered with rude representations of the mystical Swastika.

On page 250 he continues thus:

Charms.—The bazar merchant writes the words "Ram Ram" over his door, or makes an image of Genesa, the god of luck, or draws the mystical Swastika. The jand tree is reverenced as sacred by Khattris and Brahmins to avoid the evil eye in children. The child is brought at 3 years of age before a jand tree; a bough is cut with a sickle and planted at the foot of the tree. A Swastika symbol is made before it with the rice flour and sugar brought as an offering to the tree. Threads of string, used by women to tie up their hair, are cut in lengths and some deposited on the Swastika.

Mr. Virchand R. Gandhi, a Hindu and Jain disciple from Bombay, India, a delegate to the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893, remained for sometime in Washington, D. C., proselyting among the Christians. He is a cultivated gentleman, devoted to the spread of his religion. I asked his advice and assistance, which he kindly gave, supervising my manuscript for the Swastika in the extreme Orient, and furnishing me the following additional information relative to the Swastika in India, and especially among the Jains:

The Swastika is misinterpreted by so-called Western expounders of our ancient Jain philosophy. The original idea was very high, but later on some persons thought the cross represented only the combination of the male and the female principles. While we are on the physical plane and our propensities on the material line, we think it necessary to unite these (sexual) principles for our spiritual growth. On

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[1] "Introduction to Popular Religion and Folk Lore of North India," p. 58.

use of the cross in great variety of forms, so that no argument as to either the meaning or the extent of the cross can be based on the supposition that these are the only specimens. Fig. 313 (Cat. No. 132975, U.S.N.M.) shows a vase from Mexico, about 8 inches high, of fine red ware, highly polished, with an elaborate decoration. Its interest here is the Maltese cross represented on each side, with a point and concentric circles, from the outside of which are projecting rays. This may be the symbol of the sun, and if so, is shown in connection with the cross. This style of cross, with or without the sun symbol, is found in great numbers in Mexico—as, for example, the great cross, pl. 20, from the temple at Palenque.[1]

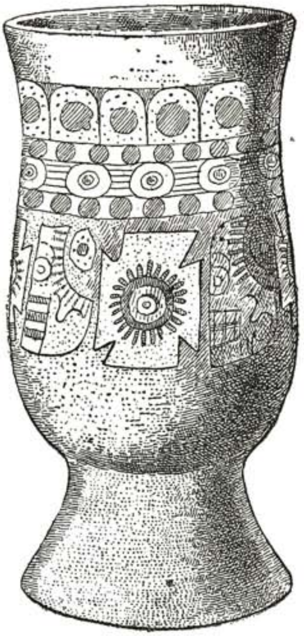

Fig. 313.

POTTERY VASE FINELY DECORATED IN RED AND WHITE GLAZE.

Maltese cross with sun symbol (?).

Cat. No. 132975, U. S. N. M.

SYMBOLIC MEANINGS OF THE CROSS.

It would be an excellent thing to dissect and analyze the Swastika material we have found; to generalize and deduce from it a possible theory as to the origin, spread, and meaning of the Swastika and its related forms, and endeavor, by examination of its associated works, to discover if these were religious symbols or charms or mere decorations; and, following this, determine if possible whether the spread of these objects, whatever their meaning, was the result of migration, contact, or communication. Were they the result of similar, but independent, operations of the human mind, or were they but duplicate inventions, the result of parallelism in human thought? This investigation must necessarily be theoretical and speculative. The most that the author proposes is to suggest probabilities and point the way for further investigation. He may theorize and speculate, but recognizes what many persons seem not able to do—that speculation and theory are not to be substituted for cold facts. He may do no more than propound questions from which other men, by study, experience, philosophy, or psychology, may possibly evolve some general principle, or a theory pointing to a general principle, concerning the mode of extension and spread of culture among separate and independent peoples. When the facts shall have been gathered, marshaled, arranged side by side, and each aggregation of facts shall have been weighed, *pro* and *con*, and its fair value given "without prejudice or preconceived opinion," then will be time enough to announce the final conclusion, and even then not dogmatically, but tentatively and subject to future discoveries.

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[1] Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, p. 33, pl. 14, fig. 7.

Throughout this paper the author has sought but little more than to prepare material on the Swastika which can be utilized by those who come after him in the determination of the difficult and abstruse problems presented.

It is rare in the study of archæology and, indeed, in any science, that a person is able to assert a negative and say what does not exist. The present investigations are rendered much more comprehensive by the appearance of the extensive and valuable work of Col. Garrick Mallery in the Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, on the subject of "Picture Writing of the American Indians." It is a work of about 800 pages, with 1,300 illustrations, and is the result of many years of laborious study. It purports to be a history, more or less complete, of the picture writing, signs, symbols, totems, marks, and messages of the American Indian, whether pictographs or petroglyphs. A large portion of his work is devoted to ideography, conventional signs, syllabaries and alphabets, homomorphs and symmorophs, and their respective means of interpretation. Among these he deals, not specifically with the Swastika, but in general terms with the cross. Therefore, by looking at Colonel Mallery's work upon this chapter (p. 724), one is able to say negatively what has not been found.

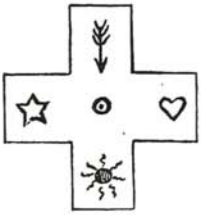

Fig. 314.
GREEK CROSS REPRESENTING WINDS FROM CARDINAL POINTS.
Dakota Indians.
Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 1255.

Apropos of the meanings of the cross among the North American Indians Count Goblet d'Alviella says:[1]

> It is nevertheless incontestable that the pre-Columbian cross of America is a "*rose des vents*," representing the four directions whence comes the rain, or the cardinal points of the compass, etc., etc.

Colonel Mallery's volume shows that it meant many other things as well.

The four winds.—The Greek cross is the form found by Colonel Mallery to be most common among the North American aborigines, possibly because it is the simplest. In this the four arms are equal in length, and the sign placed upright so that it stands on one foot and not on two, as does the St. Andrew's cross. The Greek cross (fig. 314) represents, among the Dakotas, the four winds issuing out of the four caverns in which souls of men existed before the incarnation of the human body. All the medicine men—that is, conjurors and magicians—recollect their previous dreamy life in these places, and the instructions then received from the gods, demons, and sages; they recollect and describe their preexistent life, but only dream and speculate as to the future life beyond the grave. The top of the cross is the cold, all-conquering giant, the North Wind, most powerful of all. It is worn on the body nearest the head, the seat of intelligence and conquering devices. The left arm covers the heart; it is the East Wind, coming from the seat of life and love. The foot is the melting, burning South Wind, indicating, as it is worn, the seat of fiery passion. The right arm is the gentle West Wind, blowing from the spirit land, covering the lungs, from which the breath at last goes out gently, but into unknown night. The center of the cross is the earth and man, moved by the conflicting influences of gods and winds.

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[1] "La Migration des Symboles," p. 18.

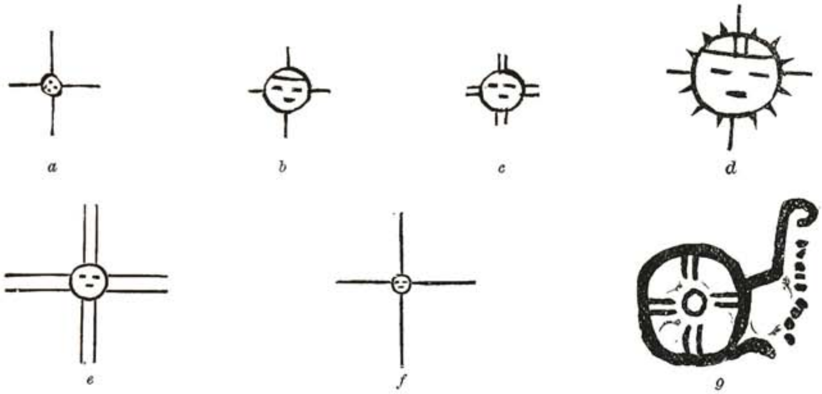

Fig. 315.

THE CROSS IN CONNECTION WITH THE CIRCLE.

Sun symbols(?).

Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, figs. 1118, 1120, 1126.

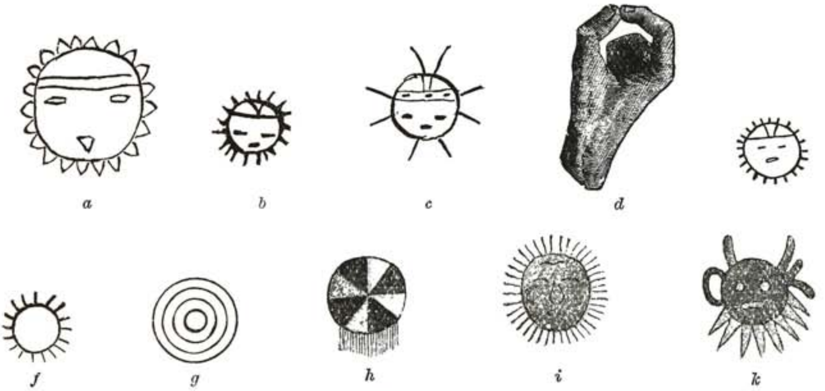

Fig. 316.

FIGURES OF CIRCLES AND RAYS PROBABLY REPRESENTING SUN SYMBOLS.

Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, figs. 1118-1121, 1123.

Rev. John McLain, in his work on the "Blackfoot Sun-dance," says:

> On the sacred pole of the sun lodge of the Blood Indian is a bundle of small brushwood taken from the birch tree, which is placed in the form of a cross. This was an ancient symbol evidently referring to the four winds.

Sun and star symbols.—Great speculation has been made, both in Europe and America, over the relation between the Swastika and the sun, because the two signs have been associated by primitive peoples.

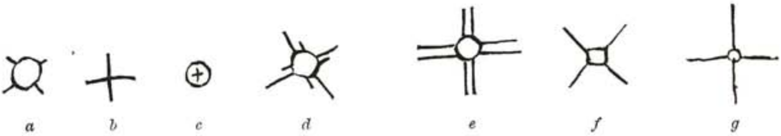

Fig. 317.

FIGURES OF CROSSES AND CIRCLES REPRESENTING STAR SYMBOLS.

Oakley Springs, Ariz.

Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 1129.

Colonel Mallery gives the Indian signs for the sun, stars, and light.[1] These have been segregated, and it will be seen that the cross and circle are used indiscriminately for one and the other, and the fact of the two being found associated is no evidence of relationship in religious ideas (figs. 315–319).

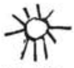

Fig. 318.

STAR SYMBOL.

Circle and rays without cross.

Oakley Springs, Ariz.

Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 1129.

Dwellings.—Among the Hidatsa, the cross and the circle represent neither the sun nor any religious ideas, but merely lodges, houses, or dwellings. The crosses in fig. 319 represent Dakota lodges; the small circles signify earth lodges, the points representing the supporting poles. Buildings erected by civilized people were represented by small rectangular figures, while the circles with dots in a square represent earth lodges, the home of the Hidatsa.

Dragon fly (*Susbeca*).—Among some of the Indian tribes, the Dakotas among others, the Latin cross is found, i. e., upright with three members of equal length, and the fourth, the foot, much longer. The use of this symbol antedates the discovery of America, and is carried back in tradition and myth. This sign signifies the mosquito hawk or the dragon fly (fig. 320). It is called in that language the "Susbeca," and is a supernatural being gifted with speech, warning man of danger, approaching his ear silently and at right angles, saying, "Tci," "tci," "tci," an interjection equivalent to "Look out!" "You are surely going to destruction!" "Look out!" "Tci," "tci," "tci!" The adoption of the dragon fly as a mysterious and

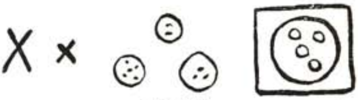

Fig. 319.

FIGURES OF CROSSES, CIRCLES, AND SQUARES REPRESENTING LODGES

Dakota Indians.

Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 1203.

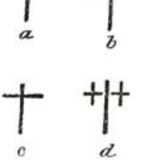

Fig. 320.

LATIN CROSSES REPRESENTING THE DRAGON FLY.

Dakota Indians.

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[1] Tenth Ann. Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, 1888–89, figs. 1118–1129.

supernatural being is on account of its sudden appearance in numbers. In the still of the evening, when the shades of darkness come, then is heard in the meadows a sound as of crickets or frogs, but indistinct and prolonged; on the morrow the Susbeca will be hovering over it. It is the sound of their coming, but whence no one knows. The cross not only represents the shape of the insect, but also the angle of its approach. It is variously drawn, but usually as in fig. 320 *a* or *b*, and, in painting or embroidery. *c*, and sometimes *d*.

Fig. 321 is described in Keam's MS. as follows:

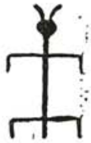

Fig. 321.

DOUBLE CROSS OF SIX ARMS REPRESENTING THE DRAGON FLY.

Moki Indians, Arizona.

Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 1165.

> This is a conventional design of dragon flies, and is often found among rock etchings throughout the plateau [Arizona]. The dragon flies have always been held in great veneration by the Mokis and their ancestors, as they have been often sent by Oman to reopen springs which Muingwa had destroyed and to confer other benefits upon the people.
>
> This form of the figure, with little vertical lines added to the transverse lines, connects the Batolatci with the Ho-bo-bo emblems. The youth who was sacrificed and translated by Ho-bo-bo reappeared a long time afterwards, during a season of great drought, in the form of a gigantic dragon fly, who led the rain clouds over the lands of Ho-pi-tu, bringing plenteous rains.

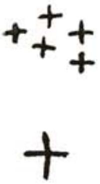

Fig. 322

FIGURES OF CROSSES AS USED BY THE ESKIMO TO REPRESENT FLOCKS OF BIRDS.

Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 1228.

Cat. Nos. 44211 and 45020, U. S. N. M.

Midē′ or Shamans.—Colonel Mallery (or Dr. Hoffman) tells us (p. 726) that among the Ojibways of northern Minnesota the cross is one of the sacred symbols of the Society of Midē′ or Shamans and has special reference to the fourth degree. The building in which the initiation is carried on has its opening toward the four cardinal points. The cross is made of saplings, the upright poles approaching the height of four to six feet, the transverse arms being somewhat shorter, each being of the same length as the top; the upper parts are painted white or besmeared with white clay, over which are spread small spots of red, the latter suggesting the sacred shell of Midē′, the symbol of the order. The lower arm of the pole is square, the side toward the east being painted white to denote the source of light and warmth; the face on the south is green, denoting the source of the thunder bird which brings the rains and vegetation; the surface toward the west is covered with vermilion, relating to the land of the setting sun, the abode of the dead; the north is painted black, as the direction from which comes affliction, cold, and hunger.

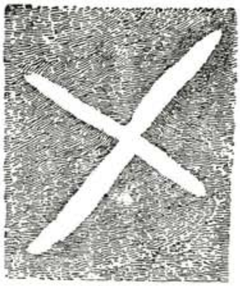

Fig. 323.

PETROGLYPH FROM TULARE VALLEY, CALIFORNIA.

Large white Greek cross.

Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 1229.

Flocks of birds.—Groups of small crosses on the sides of Eskimo bow drills represent flocks of birds (Cat. Nos. 45020 and 44211, U.S.N.M.). They are reproduced in fig. 322. Colonel Mallery's fig. 28, page 67, represents a cross copied from the Najowe Valley group of colored pictographs, 40 miles west of Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara County, Cal. The cross measured 20 inches in length, the interior being painted black while the border is of a dark red tint. This design, as well as others in close connection, is painted on the walls of a shallow cave or rock shelter in the limestone formation. Fourteen miles west of Santa Barbara, on the summit of the Santa Ynez Mountains, is a cavern having a large opening west and north, in which are crosses of the Greek type, the interior portion being painted a dull earthy red, while the outside line is a faded-black tint. The cross measures nearly a foot in extent. At the Tulare Indian Agency, Cal., is an immense bowlder of granite. It has been split, and one of the lower quarters has been moved sufficiently to leave a passageway six feet wide and nearly ten feet high. The interior walls are well covered with large painted figures, while upon the ceilings are numerous forms of animals, birds, and insects. Among this latter group is a white cross about 18 inches in length (fig. 323), presenting a unique appearance, for the reason that it is the only petroglyph in that region to which the white coloring matter has been applied.

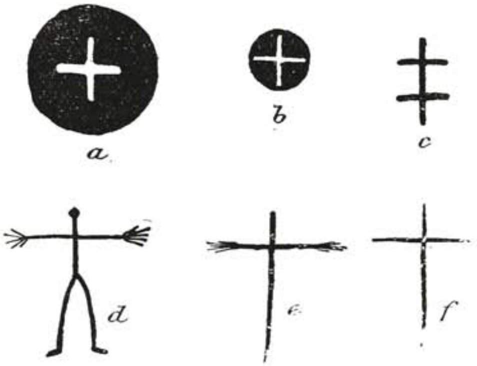

Fig. 324.

PETROGLYPHS FROM OWENS VALLEY, CALIFORNIA.

(*a*, *b*) Greek crosses, (*c*) double Latin cross, (*d–f*) Latin crosses representing human figures.

Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 1230.

An interesting example of rock sculpturing in groups is in Owens Valley, south of Benton, Cal. Among them are various forms of crosses, and circles containing crosses of simple and complex types. The most interesting in this connection are the groups in fig. 324, *a* and *b*. The larger one, *a*, occurs upon a large bowlder of tracite 16 miles south of Benton, at the "Chalk grave." The circle is a depression about one inch in depth, the cross being in high relief. The small cross *b*, found three miles north from this is almost identical, the arms of the cross, however, extending to the rim of the circle. In this locality occurs also the cross, *c*, same figure, and some examples having more than two cross arms.

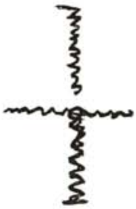

Fig. 325.

CROSS IN ZIGZAG LINES REPRESENTING THE HUMAN FORM.

Navajo Indians.

Human forms.—Other simple crosses represent the human form.

Some of these are engraved or cut on the rocks of Owens Valley and are similar to those above described (fig. 324), but they have been eroded, so that beyond the mere cross they show slight relation to the human body (fig. 324, *d*, *e*, *f*). Col. James Stevenson, describing the Hasjelti ceremony of the Navajoes,[1] shows the form of a man drawn in the sand (fig. 325). Describing the character shown in fig. 326, Keam says: "The figure represents a woman. The breath is displayed in the interior."[2]

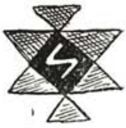
Fig. 326.
MALTESE CROSS(?) REPRESENTING A WOMAN.
The figure in the center is intended to indicate the breath.

Maidenhood.—Concerning fig. 327 Keam, in his manuscript, says the Maltese cross was the emblem of a virgin, and is still so recognized by the Moki. It is a conventional development of the common emblem of maidenhood, wherein the maidens wear their hair arranged as in a disk three or four inches in diameter on each side of the head (fig. 327 *b*). This discoidal arrangement of the hair is typical of the emblem of fructification worn by the virgin in the Muingwa festival. Sometimes the hair, instead of being worn in the complete discoidal form, is dressed upon two curving twigs, and presents the form of two semicircles upon each side of the head. The partition of these is sometimes horizontal, sometimes vertical. The combination of these styles (fig. 327*a* and *b*) present the forms from which the Maltese cross was conventionalized.[3]

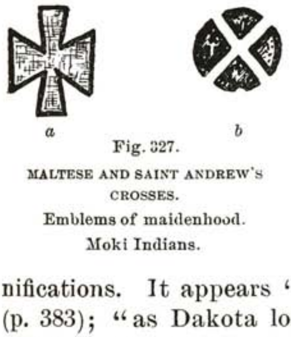

Fig. 327.
MALTESE AND SAINT ANDREW'S CROSSES.
Emblems of maidenhood. Moki Indians.

Shaman's spirit.—Among the Kiatéxamut and Innuit tribes, a cross placed on the head, as in fig. 328, signified a shaman's evil spirit or demon. This is an imaginary being under the control of the shaman to execute his wishes.[4]

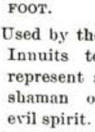
Fig. 328.
CROSS WITH BIFURCATED FOOT.
Used by the Innuits to represent a shaman or evil spirit.

Divers significations.—The figure of the cross among the North American Indians, says Colonel Mallery,[5] has many differing significations. It appears "as the tribal sign for Cheyenne" (p. 383); "as Dakota lodges" (p. 582); "as a symbol for trade or exchange" (p. 613); "as a conventional sign for prisoners" (p. 227); "for personal exploits while elsewhere it is used in simple enumeration" (p. 348). Although this device is used for a variety of meanings when it is employed ceremonially or in elaborate pictographs of the Indians both of North and South America, it represents the four winds. This view long ago was suggested as being the signification of many Mexican crosses, and it is sustained by Prof. Cyrus Thomas in his "Notes on Mayan Mexican Manuscript,"[1] where strong confirmatory evidence is produced by the arms of the crosses having the appearance of conventionalized wings similar to some representations of the thunder bird of the northern tribes; yet the same author, in his paper on the study of the "Troano Manuscript,"[2] gives fig. 329 as a symbol for wood. thus further showing the manifold concepts attached to the general form of the cross. Bandelier thinks that the cross so frequently used by the aborigines of Mexico and Central America were merely ornaments and not objects of worship, while the so-called crucifixes, like that on the Palenque tablet, were only the symbol of the "new fire," or the close of the period of fifty-two years. He believes them to be representations of the fire drills more or less ornamented. Zamacois[3] says that the cross was used in the religion of various tribes of the peninsula of Yucatan, and that it represented the god of rain.

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[1] Eighth Ann. Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 283.

[2] Tenth Ann. Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, 1888-89, fig. 1165.

[3] Ibid., fig. 1232.

[4] Ibid., fig. 1231.

[5] Ibid., p. 729.

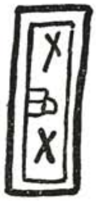

Fig. 329.

ST. ANDREW'S CROSSES, USED AS A SYMBOL FOR WOOD.

Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 1233.

It is a favorite theory with Major Powell, Director of the Bureau of Ethnology, that the cross was an original invention of the North American Indian, possibly a sign common to all savages; that it represented, first, the four cardinal points, north, south, east, and west; and afterwards by accretion, seven points, north, south, east, west, zenith, nadir, and here.

Capt. John G. Bourke, in his paper on the "Medicine Men of the Apache"[4] discourses on their symbolism of the cross. He says it is related to the cardinal points, to the four winds, and is painted by warriors on their moccasins when going through a strange district to keep them from getting on a wrong trail. He notes how he saw, in October, 1884, a procession of Apache men and women bearing two crosses, 4 feet 10 inches long, appropriately decorated "in honor of Guzanutlí to induce her to send rain."

Dr. Brinton[5] tells of the rain maker of the Lenni Lenape who first drew on the earth the figure of a cross. Captain Bourke quotes from Father Le Clerq[6] as to the veneration in which the cross was held by the Gaspesian Indians, also from Herrara to the same effect. Professor Holmes[7] makes some pertinent observations with regard to the meanings of the cross given by the American Indians:

> Some very ingenious theories have been elaborated in attempting to account for the cross among American symbols. Brinton believes that the great importance attached to the points of the compass—the four quarters of the heavens—by savage

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[1] Second Ann. Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 61.

[2] Contrib. North American Ethnology, v, p. 144.

[3] "Historia de Mexico," I, p. 238.

[4] Ninth Ann. Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, 1887–88, p. 479.

[5] "Myths of the New World," p. 96.

[6] "Gaspesi," London, 1691, pp. 170, 172, 199.

[7] Second Ann. Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, 1880–81, p. 270.

> peoples, has given rise to the sign of the cross. With others, the cross is a phallic symbol derived, by some obscure process of evolution, from the veneration accorded to the procreative principle in nature. It is also frequently associated with sun worship, and is recognized as a symbol of the sun—the four arms being remaining rays after a gradual process of elimination. Whatever is finally determined in reference to the origin of the cross as a religious symbol in America will probably result from exhaustive study of the history, language, and art of the ancient peoples, combined with a thorough knowledge of the religious conceptions of modern tribes, and when these sources of information are all exhausted it is probable that the writer who asserts more than a probability will overreach his proofs. * * * A study of the designs associated with the cross in these gorgets [figs. 302–304] is instructive, but does not lead to any definite result; in one case the cross is inscribed on the back of a great spider [figs. 275–278]; in another it is surrounded by a rectangular framework of lines, looped at the corners and guarded by four mysterious birds [figs. 263–266], while in others it is without attendant characters, but the workmanship is purely aboriginal. I have not seen a single example of engraving upon the shell that suggested a foreign hand, or a design, with the exception of this one [a cross], that could claim a European derivation. * * * Such delineations of the cross as we find embodied in ancient aboriginal art, represent only the final stages of its evolution, and it is not to be expected that its origin can be traced through them.

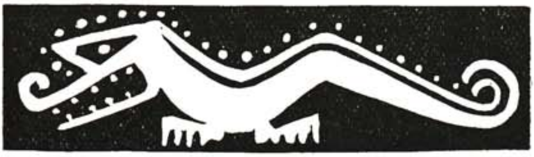

Fig. 330.

GRAPHIC DELINEATION OF ALLIGATOR.

From a vase of the lost color group.

Chiriqui.

Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 257.

Continuing in his "Ancient Art in Chiriqui,"[1] presenting his "Series showing stages in the simplification of animal characters," and "derivation of the alligator," Professor Holmes elaborates the theory how the alligator was the original, and out of it, by evolution, grew the cross. His language and accompanying figures are quoted:

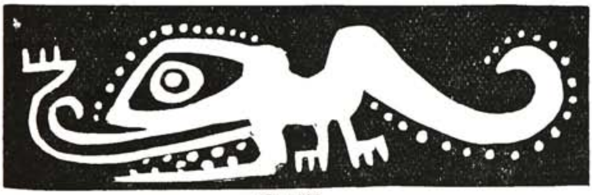

Fig. 331.

GRAPHIC DELINEATION OF ALLIGATOR.

From a vase of the lost color group.

Chiriqui.

Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 258.

> Of all the animal forms utilized by the Chiriquians, the alligator is the best suited to the purpose of this study, as it is presented most frequently and in the most varied forms. In figs. 257 and 258 [figs. 330 and 331 in the present paper] I reproduce drawings from the outer surface of a tripod bowl of the lost color group. Simple and formal as these figures are, the characteristic features of the creature—the sinuous body, the strong jaws, the upturned snout, the feet, and the scales—are forcibly expressed. It is not to be assumed that these examples represent the best delineative skill of the Chiriquian artist. The native painter must have executed very

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[1] Sixth Ann. Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 173 et seq., figs. 257–278.

much superior work upon the more usual delineating surfaces, such as bark and skins. The examples here shown have already experienced decided changes through the constraints of the ceramic art, but are the most graphic delineations preserved to us. They are free-hand products, executed by mere decorators, perhaps by women, who were servile copyists of the forms employed by those skilled in sacred art.

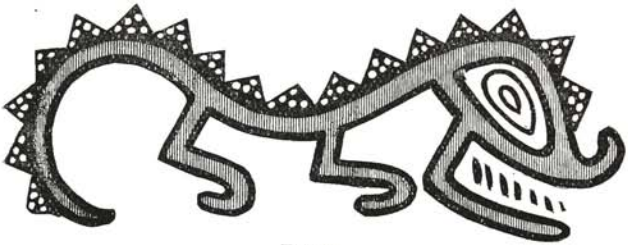

Fig. 332.

CONVENTIONAL FIGURE OF ALLIGATOR.

From a vessel of the lost color group.

Chiriqui.

Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 259.

A third illustration from the same group of ware, given in fig. 259 [fig. 332 of the present paper] shows, in some respects, a higher degree of convention. * * *

I shall now call attention to some important individualized or well-defined agencies of convention. First, and most potent, may be mentioned the enforced limits of the spaces to be decorated, which spaces take shape independently of the subject to be inserted. When the figures must occupy a narrow zone, they are elongated; when they must occupy a square, they are restricted longitudinally, and when they occupy a circle, they are of necessity coiled up. Fig. 265 [fig. 333 of the present paper] illustrates the effect produced by crowding the oblong figure into a short rectangular space. The head is turned back over the body and the tail is thrown down along the side of the space. In fig. 266 [fig. 334 of the present paper] the figure occupies a circle and is, in consequence, closely coiled up, giving the effect of a serpent rather than an alligator. * * *

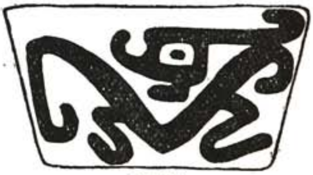

Fig. 333.

CONVENTIONAL FIGURE OF ALLIGATOR CROWDED INTO A SMALL GEOMETRICAL FIGURE.

Chiriqui.

Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 265.

I present five series of figures designed to illustrate the stages through which life forms pass in descending from the realistic to highly specialized conventional shapes. In the first series (fig. 277) [fig. 335 of the present paper] we begin with *a*, a meager but graphic sketch of the alligator; the second figure, *b*, is hardly less characteristic, but is much simplified; in the third, *c*, we have still three leading features of the creature—the body line, the spots, and the stroke at the back of the head; and in the fourth, *d*, nothing remains but a compound yoke-like curve, standing for the body of the creature, and a single dot.

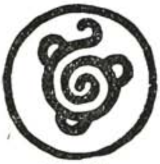

Fig. 334.

CONVENTIONAL FIGURE OF ALLIGATOR CROWDED INTO A CIRCLE.

Chiriqui.

Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 266.

The figures of the second series (fig. 278) [fig. 336 of the present paper] are nearly all painted upon low, round nodes placed about the body of the alligator vases, and hence are inclosed in circles. The animal figure in the first example is coiled up like a serpent [fig. 334], but still preserves some of the well-known characters of the alligator. In the second example [fig. 336 *b*] we have a double hook near the center of the space which takes the place of the body, but the dotted triangles are placed separately against the encircling line. In the next figure the body symbol is omitted and the three triangles remain to represent the animal. In the fourth there are four triangles, and the body device being restored in red takes the form of a cross. In the fifth two of the inclosing triangles are omitted and the idea is preserved by the simple dots. In the sixth the dots are placed within the bars of the cross, the triangles becoming mere interspaces, and in the seventh the dots form a line between the two encircling lines. This series could be filled up by other examples, thus showing by what infinitesimal steps the transformations take place. * * *

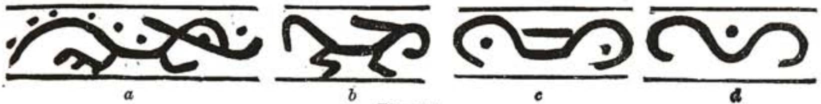

Fig. 335.

SERIES OF FIGURES OF ALLIGATORS SHOWING STAGES OF SIMPLIFICATION.

Chiriqui.

Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 277.

We learn by the series of steps illustrated in the annexed cuts that the alligator radical, under peculiar restraints and influences, assumes conventional forms that merge imperceptibly into these classic devices.

Professor Holmes's theory of the evolution of the cross from the alligator and its location in Chiriqui is opposed to that of Professor Goodyear, who, in his "Grammar of the Lotus," ascribes the origin of the cross to the lotus and locates it in Egypt. I file what in law would be an "interpleader"—I admit my want of knowledge of the subject under discussion, and leave the question to these gentlemen.

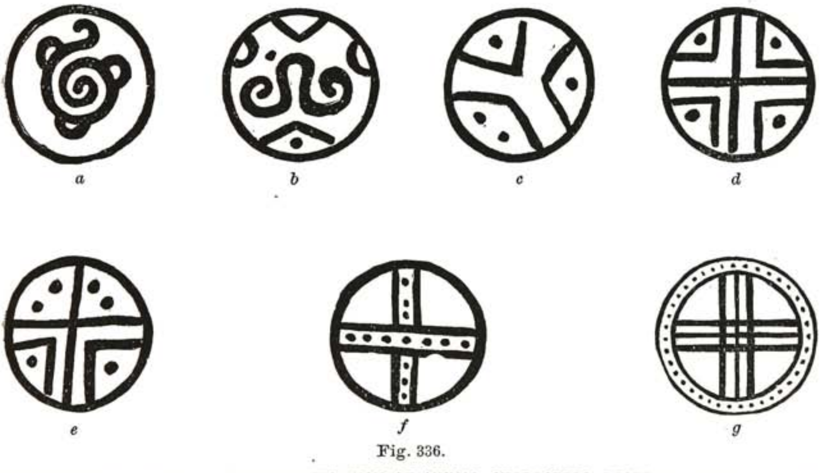

Fig. 336.

SERIES SHOWING STAGES IN THE SIMPLIFICATION OF ANIMAL CHARACTERS, BEGINNING WITH THE ALLIGATOR AND ENDING WITH THE GREEK CROSS.

Chiriqui.

Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 278.

INTRODUCTION OF THE CROSS INTO AMERICA.

Professor Holmes is, in the judgment of the author, correct when he insists upon the aboriginal character of the cross in America. We all understand how it is stated that the Spanish missionaries sought to deny this and to connect the apparition of St. Thomas with the appearance of the cross. Professor Holmes[1] says:

> The first explorers were accompanied by Christian zealots who spared no effort to root out the native superstition and introduce a foreign religion of which the cross was the all-important symbol. This emblem was generally accepted by the savages as the only tangible feature of a new system of belief that was filled with subtleties too profound for their comprehension. As a result, the cross was at once introduced into the regalia of the natives, at first probably in a European form and material, attached to a string of beads in precisely the manner they had been accustomed to suspend their own trinkets and gorgets; but soon, no doubt, delineated or carved by their own hands upon tablets of stone and copper and shell in the place of their own peculiar conceptions.

There is sufficient evidence, and to spare, of the aboriginal use of the cross in some of its forms, without resorting to the uncertain and forced explanation of its introduction by Christian missionaries. It is possible that the priests and explorers were, like Colonel Mallery's missionary, mistaken as to the interpretation given to the cross by the Indians. Dr. Hoffman, in his paper on the "Midē'wiwin or Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibwa,"[2] states the myth of the re-creation of the world "as thrown together in a mangled form by Hennepin." Dr. Hoffman observes:

> It is evident that the narrator has sufficiently distorted the traditions to make them conform as much as practicable to the Biblical story of the birth of Christ.

And on the same page he quotes from Père Marquette, who says:

> "I was very glad to see a great cross set up in the middle of the village, adorned with several white skins, red girdles, bows, and arrows, which that good people offered to the Great Manitou to return him their thanks for the care he had taken of them during the winter, and that he had granted them a prosperous hunting."
>
> Marquette [comments Dr. Hoffman] was, without doubt, ignorant of the fact that the cross is the sacred post, and the symbol of the fourth degree of the Midē'wiwin, as is fully explained in connection with that grade of society. The erroneous conclusion that the cross was erected as an evidence of the adoption of Christianity and, possibly as a compliment to the visitor was a natural one on the part of the priest, but this same symbol of the Midē' society had probably been erected and bedecked with barbaric emblems and weapons mouths before anything was known of him.

Most aboriginal objects bearing crosses are from localities along the Ohio River and through Kentucky and Tennessee, a locality which the early Christian missionaries never visited, and where the cross of Christ was rarely, if ever, displayed until after that territory became part of the United States. Per contra, the localities among the Indians in which the early missionaries most conducted their labors—that is to say, along the Great Lakes and throughout northern

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[1] Second Ann. Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 269.

[2] Seventh Ann. Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 155.

Illinois—produce the fewest number of aboriginal crosses. This was the country explored by Fathers Marquette, Lasalle, and Hennepin, and it was the scene of most of the Catholic missionary labors. Professor Holmes seems to have recognized this fact, for he says:[1]

> The cross was undoubtedly used as a symbol by the prehistoric nations of the South, and, consequently, that it was probably also known in the North. A great majority of the relics associated with it in the ancient mounds and burial places are undoubtedly aboriginal. In the case of the shell gorgets, the tablets themselves belong to an American type, and are highly characteristic of the art of the Mississippi Valley. A majority of the designs engraved upon them are also characteristic of the same district.

The author agrees heartily with Professor Holmes's argument in this matter, and his conclusion, when he says of these objects (p. 270):

> The workmanship is purely aboriginal. I have not seen a single example of engraving upon shell that suggested a foreign hand or a design, with the exception of one (cross), that could claim a European derivation.

There have been numerous European or Catholic crosses, as well as many other objects of European manufacture or objects of civilized types, found among the Indians. There have been silver crosses found with images of the Virgin thereon, with Latin inscriptions, or of Roman letters; there have been glass beads, iron arrowheads, and divers other objects found in Indian graves which bore indubitable evidence of contact with the whites, and no one with any archæological experience need be deceived into the belief that these were aboriginal or pre-Columbian manufacture. As a general rule, the line of demarkation between objects of Indian manufacture and those made by the whites is definite, and no practiced eye will mistake the one for the other. There may be exceptions, as where the Indian has lived with the whites or a white man with the Indians, or where an object is made with intent to deceive. In such cases one may have more trouble in determining the origin of the object.

There were many Indians who died and were buried within a century past, whose graves might contain many objects of white man's work. Black Hawk and Red Jacket are examples, and, possibly, King Philip. Indian graves have been opened in New England and New York containing the gun or firelock of the occupant of the grave buried with him, and that this was evidence of European contact there can be no doubt. So there have been hundreds, possibly thousands, of Indians buried since the Columbian discovery down to within the last decade whose graves contain white man's tools or implements. But no person with any archæological experience need be deceived by these things. The theory that the Latin or Greek crosses or Swastikas shown on these gorgets, disks, and pottery furnish evidence of contact by the aborigines with Europeans in post-Columbian times is without foundation and inadmissible.

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[1] Second Ann. Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 269.

DECORATIVE FORMS NOT OF THE CROSS, BUT ALLIED TO THE SWASTIKA.

COLOR STAMPS FROM MEXICO AND VENEZUELA.

The aborigines of Mexico and Central and South America employed terra-cotta color stamps, which, being made into the proper pattern in the soft clay, were burned hard; then, being first coated with color, the stamp was pressed upon the object to be decorated, and so transferred

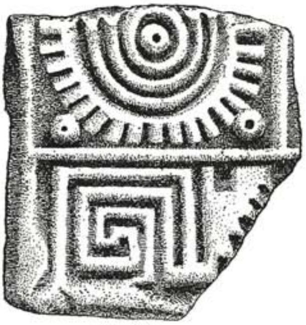
Fig. 337.

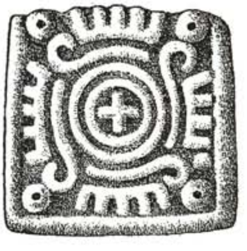
Fig. 338.

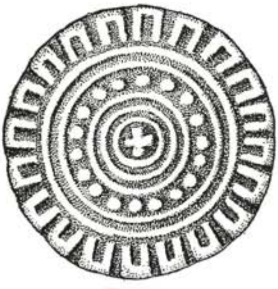
Fig. 339.

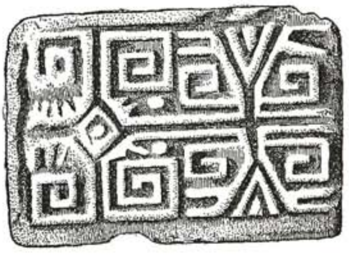
Fig. 340.

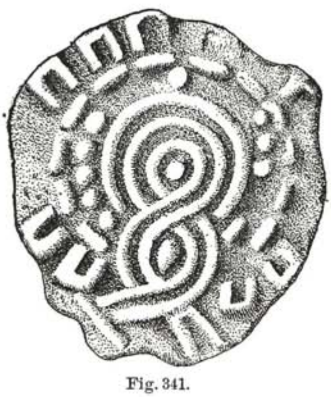
Fig. 341.

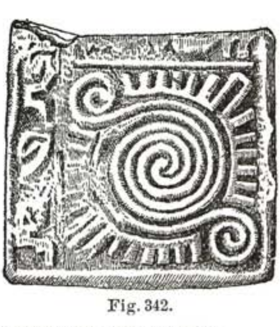
Fig. 342.

TERRA-COTTA COLOR STAMPS WITH DESIGNS SIMILAR TO THE SWASTIKA.
Mexico.
Cat. Nos. 99124, 99127, 27887, 99115, 99118, 99122, U. S. N. M.

its color, as in the mechanical operation of printing, thus giving the intended decoration. Patterns of these stamps are inserted in this paper in connection with the Swastika because of the resemblance—not in form, but in style. They are of geometric form, crosses, dots, circles (concentric and otherwise), lozenges, chevrons, fret, and labyrinth or meander. The style of this decoration lends itself easily to the Swastika; and yet, with the variety of patterns contained in the series of stamps belonging to the U. S. National Museum, shown in figs. 337 to 342, no Swastika appears; nor in the similar stamps belonging to other collections, notably that of Mr. A. E. Douglass, in the Metropolitan Museum of Natural History, Central Park, New York, are any Swastikas shown. Of the foregoing figures, all are from Tlaltelolco, Mexico (Blake collection), except fig. 339, which is from the Valley of Mexico, and was received from the Museo Nacional of Mexico.

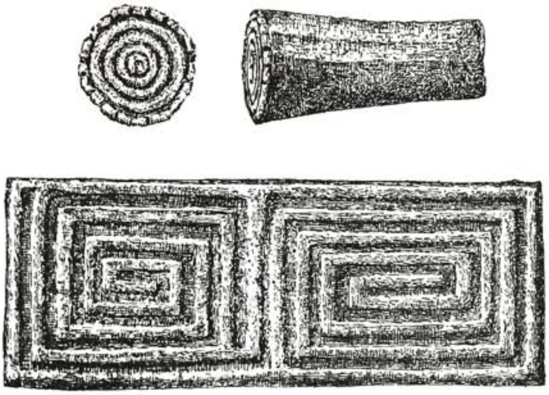

Fig. 343.

TERRA-COTTA COLOR STAMPS WITH DESIGNS SIMILAR TO THE SWASTIKA.

Piaroa Indians, Venezuela.

Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 982.

Marcano says:[1]

> The present Piaroas of Venezuela are in the habit of painting their bodies by a process different from that of the North American Indian. They make stamps of wood, which, being colored (as types are with ink), they apply to their bodies. Fig. 982 shows examples of these stamps. [See fig. 343 of the present paper.] The designs are substantially the same as some petroglyphs. They either copied the models they found carved on the rocks by peoples who preceded them, or they knew the meaning and preserved the tradition. The former is the only tenable hypothesis. Painting is to the Piaroas both ornamentation and necessity. It serves, not only as a garment to protect them against insects, but becomes a fancy costume to grace their feasts and meetings.

These designs are not presented as Swastikas nor of any evolution or derivation from one. They show a style common enough to Central and South America, to the Antilles and the Canary Islands,[2] which might easily produce a Swastika. The aboriginal designer of these might, if we depend upon the theory of psychological similarity of culture among all peoples, at his next attempt make a Swastika. Yet, with the hundreds of similar patterns made during the centuries of aboriginal occupation and extending throughout the countries named, none of these seem ever to have produced a Swastika.

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[1] Mem. Soc. d'Anthrop., Paris, 1890, p. 200.

[2] De Quatrefages, "Histoire Générale du Races Humaines," Introduction, p. 239, figs: 185–191, 193–194.

V.—SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SWASTIKA.

The origin and early history of the Swastika are lost in antiquity. All the author has been able to find on these subjects is set forth in the preceding chapters.

It is proposed to examine the possible uses of the Swastika in an endeavor to discover something of its significance. The Swastika might have served:

- I. As a symbol—
    - 1, of a religion,
    - 2, of a nation or people,
    - 3, of a sect with peculiar tenets;
- II. As an amulet or charm—
    - 1, of good luck, or fortune, or long life,
    - 2, of benediction, or blessing,
    - 3, against the evil eye;
- III. As an ornament or decoration.

It may have been (1) originally discovered or invented by a given people in a given country, and transmitted from one generation to the next, passing by migration from one country to another, and it may have been transmitted by communication to widely separated countries and among differently cultured peoples; or (2) it may have appeared in these latter countries by duplicate invention or by accident, and without contact or communication.

Positive evidence concerning its origin and earliest migration is not obtainable, and in its absence we are driven to secondary and circumstantial evidence. This will consist (1) of comparison of known facts directly concerning the subject; (2) of facts indirectly concerning it, and (3) reason, induced by argument, applied to these facts, presenting each truly, and giving to each its proper weight.

The possible migrations of the Swastika, and its appearance in widely separated countries and among differently cultured peoples, afford the principal interest in this subject to archæologists and anthropologists. The present or modern scientific interest in and investigation of the Swastika as a symbol or a charm alone are subsidiary to the greater question of the cause and manner of its appearance in different countries, whether it was by migration and contact or by independent invention. In arguing this question, we must keep continually in mind the rules of reason and of logic, and neither force the facts nor seek to explain them by unknown, imaginary, or impossible methods. There must be no dogmatic assertions nor fanciful theories. If we assume certain migrations of the Swastika, we must consider those things which might have (or must have) migrated with it; and we must admit the means necessary to the assumed end.

The history of the beginning and first appearance of any of the forms of the cross is also lost in antiquity, and it would be hazardous for any person to announce positively their origin, either as to locality or time. The Swastika was certainly prehistoric in its origin. It was in extensive use during the existence of the third, fourth, and fifth cities of the site of ancient Troy, of the hill of Hissarlik; so also in the Bronze Age, apparently during its entire existence, throughout western Europe from the Mediterranean Sea to the Arctic Ocean. It continued in use in Europe during the Iron Age, and also among the Etruscans, Greeks, and Trojans. The name "Swastika," by which it is recognized to-day in all literature, is a Sanscrit word, and was in common use among the Sanscrit peoples so long ago that it had a peculiar or individual pronunciation in Pânini's grammar prior to the fourth century B. C. Some authorities are of the opinion that it was an Aryan symbol and used by the Aryan peoples before their dispersion through Asia and Europe. This is a fair subject for inquiry and might serve as an explanation how, either as a sacred symbol or charm, an amulet, or token of good wishes or good fortune, the Swastika might have been carried to the different peoples and countries in which we now find it by the splitting up of the Aryan peoples and their migrations and establishment in the various parts of Europe. Professor Sayce is of the opinion that the Swastika was a Hittite symbol and passed by communication to the Aryans or some of their important branches before their final dispersion took place, but he agrees that it was unknown in Assyria, Babylonia, Phenicia, or among the Egyptians.

Whether the Swastika was in use among the Chaldeans, Hittites, or the Aryans before or during their dispersion, or whether it was used by the Brahmins before the Buddhists came to India is, after all, but a matter of detail of its migrations; for it may be fairly contended that the Swastika was in use, more or less common among the people of the Bronze Age anterior to either the Chaldeans, Hittites, or the Aryans. The additional facts in this regard have been set forth in the chapter on this subject, and need not be repeated here.

The question should, so far as possible, be divested of speculation, and the evidence accepted in its ordinary meaning "without prejudice or preconceived opinion."

A consideration of the subject in the light of the material here collected develops the following questions:

(1) Was the Swastika, in any of its forms, the symbol of an ancient religion or philosophy, or was it only the sign of a particular sect, tenet, faith, or idea; or was it both?

(2) Was it a charm or amulet to be used by anyone which derived its value from the signification given to it?

(3) What lesson can be gathered from it concerning the early migrations of the races of man?

Examples illustrating these questions are to be found in history as well as in everyday life. The Scarabæus of Egypt and Etruria was a symbol of eternity. The golden hoop on the lady's finger representing a snake swallowing its tail, is also a symbol of eternity. These represent a sentiment, and are symbols of that sentiment without regard to sect or organized body.

On the other hand, the Maltese cross was the symbol of the Knights of Malta, and has become, in later years, that of the Masonic fraternity; while the three links is the symbol of the Order of Odd Fellows. The Latin cross is a symbol of the Christian religion and, to a certain extent, of a Christian denomination.

Upon the evidence submitted, we must accept the Swastika first as a symbol of that sect of Jains within the Buddhist Church originally in Tibet, which spread itself in the Asiatic country under the names of Tao-sse, Tirthankara, Ter, Musteg, and Pon or Pon-po, the last signifying purity (ante, p. 774). This sect, or these sects, adopted the Swastika as their symbol, giving it the translation *su* "well," *asti*, "it is," the whole word meaning "it is well," or "so be it," implying resignation under all circumstances, the sect holding, in accordance with the meaning given to their symbol, that contentment and peace of mind were the chief objects of human life. In so far as it concerns this sect, the Swastika was a symbol of both kinds. It represented a religious or at least a moral and philosophic idea, and also the sect which held to this idea.

Among the Buddhists proper, the Swastika seems to have been employed as a holy or sacred symbol; its occurrence as one of the signs in the footprint of Buddha, their founder, with some relation either to the mystery of his appearance as a leader, a missionary, or of the holy and sacred object of his mission, causes this to be inferred. Their use of it on the bronze statues of Buddha, and associating it with solemn inscriptions in the caves of India, leaves no doubt as to its use as a symbol more or less of this character.

Again, the use in the early Christian times of different forms of the cross, coupled with the extensive use by the Christians of the "monogram of Christ" (fig. 6), shows how naturally there may have been a conflict of opinion in the selection of a cross which should be a representative, while we know from history that there was such discussion, and that different forms of the cross were suggested. Among other forms was the Swastika, but to what extent or with what idea the author is not informed. The Swastika was used, Burnouf says, a thousand times on Christians' tombs in the catacombs at Rome. This is evidence of its use to a certain extent in a sacred or solemn and funereal character, which would signify its use as the symbol of a religious idea.

Beyond these instances the author is unable to find evidence of the Swastika having served as a symbol of any religious or philosophic idea or of any sect or organization.

Whether among the Bronze Age people of western Europe—among the Trojans, Greeks, or Etruscans—whether among the semicivilized peoples of South or Central America, or among the savages (mound-builders) of North America, there is apparently no instance of the Swastika having been regarded as holy or used on a sacred object—that is, holy and sacred in the light of godliness, piety, or morality. It may have been or may yet be discovered that some of these wild men used the Swastika upon objects serving at ceremonies or festivals of their religion, or which had, in their eyes, a semi-sacred character. But it does not seem that it was used as a representative of a holy idea or of any god or supernatural being who stood for such an idea. The meal used in the Zuñi ceremony may have been regarded as sacred, and it may, indeed must, have been made on a stone metate, yet neither the metate nor the stone thereby obtained any holy or sacred character. So, also, it may have been decorated with a fret, chevron, herringbone, or any of the numerous styles, none of which would receive any sacred character from such use. So it is believed to have been with the Swastika found on these objects; it was not holy or sacred because of this use.

The author declines to discuss the possible relation of the Swastika to the sun or sun god, to the rain or rain god, the lightning, to Dyaus, Zeus or Agni, to Phebus or Apollo, or other of the mythological deities. This question would be interesting if it could be determined with certainty, or if the determination would be accepted by any considerable number of persons. But this is left for some one more competent and more interested than the author.

The most probable use of the Swastika among prehistoric peoples, or among Orientals other than the Buddhists, was as a charm or amulet signifying good fortune, good luck, long life, or benediction and blessing.[1] (See p. 780.)

Looking over the entire prehistoric world, we find the Swastika used on small and comparatively insignificant objects, those in common use, such as vases, pots, jugs, implements, tools, household goods and utensils, objects of the toilet, ornaments, etc., and infrequently on statues, altars, and the like. In Armenia it was found on bronze pins and buttons; in the Trojan cities on spindle-whorls; in Greece on pottery, on gold and bronze ornaments, and fibulæ. In the Bronze Age in western Europe, including Etruria, it is found on the common objects of life, such as pottery, the bronze fibulæ, ceintures, spindle-whorls, etc.

In addition to the foregoing, there were peculiar uses of the Swastika in certain localities: In Italy on the hut urns in which the ashes of the dead are buried; in the Swiss lakes stamped in the pottery; in Scandinavia on the weapons, swords, etc., and in Scotland and Ireland on the brooches and pins; in America on the metates for grinding corn; the Brazilian women wore it on the pottery fig leaf; the Pueblo Indian painted it on his dance rattle, while the North American Indian, at the epoch of the mound building in Arkansas and Missouri, painted it in spiral form on his pottery; in Tennessee he engraved it on the shell, and in Ohio cut it in its plainest normal form out of sheets of copper. So also among the modern Indians we find it employed on occasions of ceremony, as in the mountain chant by the Navajoes, and the war chant of the Kansas, on the necklace and ceremonial garters of the Sac woman, and on the war shields of the Pimas.

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[1] Goblet d'Alviella, "La Migration des Symboles," pp. 56, 57.

As we do not find it represented in America on aboriginal religious monuments, on ancient gods, idols, or other sacred or holy objects, we are justified in claiming that it was not here used as a religious symbol; while, as it is found only on trinkets, shells, copper plaques, spindle-whorls, metates, pottery bowls, jugs, bottles, or vases; as we find it sometimes square, sometimes spiral, now outside, now inside, of bowls and jars, etc.; at one time a small rectangular figure and at another of extensive convolutions covering the side of the vase; as we find it on the tools of the workmen, the objects in everyday use, whether in the house or the shop, used indiscriminately by men and women, or on gaming implements or dance rattles, the contention seems justifiable that it was used as an ornament or as a charm for good luck and not as a religious symbol. Yet we know it was used on certain ceremonial occasions which may themselves have had more or less a sacred character.

Thus, after the fullest examination, we find the Swastika was confined to the commoner uses, implements, household utensils, and objects for the toilet and personal decoration. The specimens of this kind number a hundred to one of a sacred kind. With this preponderance in favor of the common use, it would seem that, except among the Buddhists and early Christians, and the more or less sacred ceremonies of the North American Indians, all pretense of the holy or sacred character of the Swastika should be given up, and it should (still with these exceptions) be considered as a charm, amulet, token of good luck or good fortune, or as an ornament and for decoration.

VI.—THE MIGRATION OF SYMBOLS.

MIGRATION OF THE SWASTIKA.

The question of the migration of the Swastika and of the objects on which it was marked, which furnished its only means of transportation, remains to be considered. It is proposed to examine, in a cursory manner perhaps, not only the migration of the Swastika itself, but some of these objects, spindle whorls especially, with a view to discover by similarity or peculiarity of form or decoration any relationship they may have had with each other when found in distant countries and used by different peoples. Thus, we may be able to open the way to a consideration of the question whether this similarity of Swastikas or other decorations, or of the objects on which they were placed, resulted from the migration of or contact or communication between distant peoples, or was it accidental and the result of independent discoveries and duplicate inventions—an evidence of the parallelism of human thought?

Dr. Brinton, in a communication before the American Philosophical Society,[1] starts out with a polemical discussion upon the subject of the migration of the Swastika and its possible American migration, as follows:

> My intention is to combat the opinion of those writers who, like Dr. Hamy, M. Beauvois, and many others, assert that because certain well-known Oriental symbols, as the Ta Ki, the Triskeles, the Svastika, and the cross, are found among the American aborigines, they are evidence of Mongolian, Buddhistic, Christian, or Aryan immigrations previous to the discovery by Columbus, and I shall also try to show that the position is erroneous of those who, like William H. Holmes, of the Bureau of Ethnology, maintain "that it is impossible to give a satisfactory explanation of the religious significance of the cross as a religious symbol in America."
>
> In opposition to both these views, I propose to show that the primary significance of all these widely extended symbols is quite clear, and that they can be shown to have arisen from certain fixed relations of man to his environment, the same everywhere, and hence suggesting the same graphic representations among tribes most divergent in location and race, and, therefore, that such symbols are of little value in tracing ethnic affinities or the currents of civilization.

I am sorry to be compelled to differ with Dr. Brinton in these views. I may not attempt much argument upon this branch of the subject, but whatever argument is presented will be in opposition to this view, as not being borne out by the evidence. Of course, the largest portion of the discussion of this subject must consist of theory and argument, but such facts as are known, when subjected to an analysis of reason, seem to produce a result contrary to that announced by Dr. Brinton.

It is conceded that the duplication of the cross by different or distant peoples is no evidence of migrations of or contact between these peoples, however close their relations might have been. The sign of the cross itself was so simple, consisting of only two marks or pieces intersecting each other at a right or other angle, that we may easily suppose it to have been the result of independent invention. The same conclusion has been argued with regard to the Swastika. But this is a *non sequitur*.

First, I dispute the proposition of fact that the Swastika is, like the cross, a simple design—one which would come to the mind of any person and would be easy to make. For evidence of this, I cite the fact that it is not in common use, that it is almost unknown among Christian peoples, that it is not included in any of the designs for, nor mentioned in any of the modern European or American works on, decoration, nor is it known to or practiced by artists or decorators of either country.[2] For the truth of this, I appeal to the experience of artists and decorators, and would put the question whether, of their own knowledge, by their own inventions, they have ever discovered or made Swastikas, or whether their brother artists have done so, and if they answer in the affirmative, I would ask whether those cases were not rare. It may be granted that when the Swastika has been seen by an artist or decorator it is easily understood and not difficult to execute, but, nevertheless, I insist that its invention and use among artists and decorators during the centuries since the Rennaissance is rare.

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[1] Proc. Am. Philosoph. Soc., xxvi, p. 177.

[2] For general lack of knowledge of Swastika in modern times, see Preface, p. 763.

It is argued by Zmigrodzki that the Swastika on so many specimens, especially the Trojan spindle-whorls, having been made regularly, sometimes turning one way, sometimes another, sometimes square, other times curved, goes to show the rapidity with which the sign was made, that it did not require an artist, that its use was so common that it had become a habit and was executed in a rapid and sketchy manner, as evidenced by the appearance of the marks themselves upon the whorls. He likens this to the easy and unconsidered way which men have of signing their names, which they are able to do without attention. He likens it also to the sign of the cross made by Roman Catholics so rapidly as to be unnoticed by those who are unaware of its significance. With this line of argument, Zmigrodzki reasons that the Swastika was in its time confined to common use and thus he accounts for the number of ill-formed specimens. This only accounts for the comparatively few ill formed specimens, but not for the great number, the mass of those well formed and well drawn. Instead of the Swastika being a sign easily made, the experience of the writer is the contrary. A simple cross like the Latin, Greek, St. Andrew's, and other common forms may be very easy to make, but a really good specimen of the Swastika is difficult to make. Any one who doubts this has only to make the experiment for himself, and make correctly such a specimen as fig. 9. While it may be easy enough to make the Greek cross with two lines of equal length intersecting each other at right angles, and while this forms a large proportion of the Swastikas, it is at its conclusion that the trouble of making a perfect Swastika begins. It will be found difficult, requiring care and attention, to make the projecting arms of equal length, to see that they are all at the same angle; and if it is bent again and again, two or three turns upon each other, the difficulty increases. If a person thinks that the Swastika, either in the square or the ogee curves or the spiral volutes, is easy to make, he has but to try it with paper and pencil, and, if that is his first attempt, he will soon be convinced of his error. The artist who drew the spirals for this paper pronounces them to be the most difficult of all; the curves are parabolic, no two portions of any one are in the same circle, the circle continually widens, and no two circles nor any two portions of the same circle have the same center. To keep these lines true and parallel, the curve regular, the distances the same, and at the same time sweeping outward in the spiral form, the artist pronounces a most difficult work, requiring care, time, and attention (fig. 295). Even the square and meander Swastikas (figs. 10, 11) require a rule and angle to make them exact. All this goes to show the intention of the artist to have been more or less deliberate; and that the object he made was for a special purpose, with a particular idea, either as a symbol, charm, or ornament, and not a meaningless figure to fill a vacant space.

Yet it is practically this difficult form of the cross which appears to have spread itself through the widest culture areas, extending almost to the uttermost parts of the earth. All this is foundation for the suggestion that the Swastika was not the result of duplicate invention or independent discovery, that it is not an illustration of parallelism in human thought, but that it was transmitted from person to person, or passed from one country to another, either by the migration of its people, by their contact or communication, or by the migration and transmission of the symbol and the sign itself. Pushing the argument of the difficulty of its making, to account for the rarity of the design, it is alleged that in modern times the Swastika is practically unknown among Christian peoples. It passed out of use among them nigh a thousand years ago and has been supplanted by every other imaginable geometric form. The fret, chevron, herringbone, crosses, and circles of every kind, spirals, volutes, ogees, moldings, etc., have all remained in use since neolithic times, but no Swastika. The latest use mentioned in the literature upon this subject appears to have been in the arch-Episcopal chair in the cathedral at Milan, which bears the three ancient Christian crosses, the Latin cross, the monogram of Christ, and the Swastika, of which the first and last are carved in alternates around the pedestal of the chair. Yet the knowledge of the Swastika has been perpetuated in some countries and its use has not died out all over the world; therefore, examples of its use in modern times should be noted in order to prevent misapprehension and contradiction. The double Greek fret made with two continuous lines (fig. 139) forms a psuedo Swastika at each intersection, although we have seen that this is not a real but only an apparent Swastika (p. 783). This is used in modern times by carpet and linen weavers as borders for carpets and tablecloths, and by tile makers in similar decoration. The Swastika mark has continued in use among the Orientals; the Theosophists have adopted it as a seal or insignia; the Japanese (fig. 30), the Koreans (p. 799), the Chinese (fig. 31), the Jains (figs. 33, 34), and, among the North American Indians, the Navajo (pl. 17), and those of the Kansas Reservation (pls. 15 and 16). It is not used by European peoples in modern times, except in Lapland and Finland. The National Museum has lately received a collection of modern household and domestic utensils from Lapland, some of which bear the marks of the cross and one a churn, the lid of which bears a possible Swastika mark. Through the kindness of Professor Mason and Mr. Cushing, I have received a drawing of this (fig. 344). Theodor Schvindt, in "Suomalaisia koristeita,"[1] a book of standard national Finnish patterns for the embroideries of the country, gives the Swastika among others; but it is classed among "oblique designs" and no mention is made of it as a Swastika or of any character corresponding to it. Its lines are always at angles of 45 degrees, and are continually referred to as "oblique designs."

The Swastika ornaments Danish baptismal fonts, and according to Mr. J. A. Hjaltalin it "was used [in Iceland] a few years since as a magic sign, but with an obscured or corrupted meaning." It arrived in that island in the ninth century A. D.[2]

The Swastika mark appears both in its normal and ogee form in the Persian carpets and rugs.[3] While writing this memoir, I have found in the Persian rug in my own bedchamber sixteen figures of the Swastika. In the large rug in the chief clerk's office of the National Museum there are no less than twenty-seven figures of the Swastika. On a piece of imitation Persian carpet, with a heavy pile, made probably in London, I found also figures of the Swastika. All the foregoing figures have been of the normal Swastika, the arms crossing each other and the ends turning at right angles, the lines being of equal thickness throughout. Some of them were bent to the right and some to the left. At the entrance of the Grand Opera House in Washington I saw a large India rug containing a number of ogee Swastikas; while the arms crossed each other at right angles, they curved, some to the right and some to the left, but all the lines increased in size, swelling in the middle of the curve, but finishing in a point. The modern Japanese wisteria workbaskets for ladies have one or more Swastikas woven in their sides or covers.

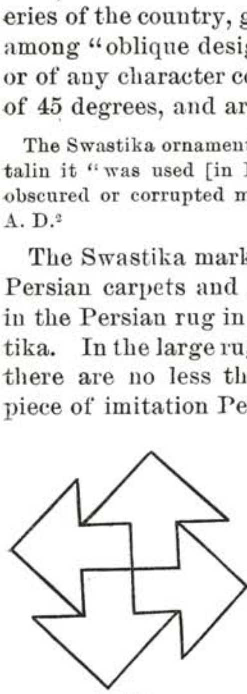

Fig. 344.

MODERN CHURN LID WITH DESIGN RESEMBLING SWASTIKA.

Lapland.

U. S. National Museum.

Thus, it appears that the use of the Swastika in modern times is confined principally to Oriental and Scandinavian countries, countries which hold close relations to antiquity; that, in western Europe, where in ancient times the Swastika was most frequent, it has, during the last one or two thousand years, become extinct. And this in the countries which have led the world in culture.

If the Swastika was a symbol of a religion in India and migrated as such in times of antiquity to America, it was necessarily by human aid. The individuals who carried and taught it should have carried with it the religious idea it represented. To do this required a certain use of language, at least the name of the symbol. If the sign bore among the aborigines in America the name it bore in India, Swastika, the evidence of contact and communication would be greatly strengthened. If the religion it represented in India should be found in America, the chain of evidence might be considered complete. But in order to make it so it will be necessary to show the existence of these names and this religion in the same locality or among the same people or their descendants as is found the sign. To find traces of the Buddhist religion associated with the sign of the Swastika among the Eskimo in Alaska might be no evidence of its prehistoric migration, for this might have occurred in modern times, as we know has happened with the Russian religion and the Christian cross. While to find the Buddhist religion and the Swastika symbol together in America, at a locality beyond the possibility of modern European or Asiatic contact, would be evidence of prehistoric migration yet it would seem to fix it at a period when, and from a country where, the two had been used together. If the Swastika and Buddhism migrated to America together it must have been since the establishment of the Buddhist religion, which is approximately fixed in the sixth century B. C. But there has not been as yet in America, certainly not in the localities where the Swastika has been found, any trace discovered of the Buddhist religion, nor of its concomitants of language, art, or custom. Adopting the theory of migration of the Swastika, we may therefore conclude that if the Swastika came from India or Eastern Asia, it came earlier than the sixth century B. C.

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[1] Finnische Ornamente. 1. Stichornamente. Heft 1–4. Soumalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura Helsingissä, 1894.

[2] Karl Blind, "Discovery of Odinic songs in Shetland," Nineteenth Century, June, 1879, p. 1098, cited by Alfred C. Haddon in "Evolution in Art," London, 1895, p. 285.

[3] Miss Fanny D. Bergen, in Scribner's Magazine, September, 1894.

If a given religion with a given symbol, both belonging to the Old World, should both be found associated in the New World, it would be strong evidence in favor of Old World migration—certainly of contact and communication. Is it not equally strong evidence of contact to find the same sign used in both countries as a charm, with the same significance in both countries?

The argument has been made, and it has proved satisfactory, at least to the author, that throughout Asia and Europe, with the exception of the Buddhists and early Christians, the Swastika was used habitually as a sign or mark or charm, implying good luck, good fortune, long life, much pleasure, great success, or something similar. The makers and users of the Swastika in South and Central America, and among the mound builders of the savages of North America, having all passed away before the advent of history, it is not now, and never has been, possible for us to obtain from them a description of the meaning, use, or purpose for which the Swastika was employed by them. But, by the same line of reasoning that the proposition has been treated in the prehistoric countries of Europe and Asia, and which brought us to the conclusion that the Swastika was there used as a charm or token of good luck, or good fortune, or against the evil eye, we may surmise that the Swastika sign was used in America for much the same purpose. It was placed upon the same style of object in America as in Europe and Asia. It is not found on any of the ancient gods of America, nor on any of the statues, monuments, or altars, nor upon any sacred place or object, but rather upon such objects as indicate the common and everyday use, and on which the Swastika, as a charm for good luck, would be most appropriate, while for a sacred character it would be singularly inappropriate.

The theory of independent invention has been invoked to account for the appearance of the Swastika in widely separated countries, but the author is more inclined to rely upon migration and imitation as the explanation.

When signs or symbols, myths or fables, habits or customs, utensils, implements or weapons, industries, tools or machinery, have been found in countries widely separated from each other, both in countries bearing characteristics so much alike as to make them practically the same objects or industries, and which are made in the same way, they present a question to which there are only two possible solutions: Either they are independent discoveries or inventions which, though analogous, have been separately conceived, or else they have been invented or discovered in one of the countries, and passed to the other by migration of the object or communication of the knowledge necessary to form it, or by contact between the two peoples. Of these inventions or discoveries said to have been made in duplicate, each of which is alleged to have sprung up in its own country as a characteristic of humanity and by virtue of a law of physics or psychology, it is but fair to say that in the opinion of the author the presumption is all against this. Duplicate inventions have been made and will be made again, but they are uncommon. They are not the rule, but rather the exception. The human intellect is formed on such unknown bases, is so uncertain in its methods, is swayed by such slight considerations, and arrives at so many different conclusions, that, with the manifold diversities of human needs and desires, the chances of duplicate invention by different persons in distant countries, without contact or communication between them, are almost as one to infinity.

The old adage or proverb says, "Many men of many minds," and it only emphasizes the differences between men in regard to the various phenomena mentioned. There are some things sure to happen, yet it is entirely uncertain as to the way they will happen. Nothing is more uncertain than the sex of a child yet to be born, yet every person has one chance out of two to foretell the result correctly. But of certain other premises, the chances of producing the same result are as one to infinity. Not only does the human intellect not produce the same conclusion from the same premises in different persons, but it does not in the same person at different times. It is unnecessary to multiply words over this, but illustrations can be given that are satisfactory. A battle, a street fight, any event happening in the presence of many witnesses, will never be seen in the same way by all of them; it will be reported differently by each one; each witness will have a different story. The jurors in our country are chosen because of the absence of prejudice or bias. Their intellect or reason are intended to be subjected to precisely the same evidence and argument, and yet how many jurors disagree as to their verdict? We have but to consider the dissensions and differences developed in the jury room which are settled, sometimes by argument, by change of conviction, or by compromise. What would be the resources of obtaining justice if we were to insist upon unanimity of decision of the jury upon their first ballot or the first expression of their opinion and without opportunity of change? Yet these jurors have been charged, tried, and sworn a true verdict to render according to the law and evidence as submitted to them. There is no doubt but that they are endeavoring to fulfill their duty in this regard, and while the same evidence as to fact, and charge as to law, are presented to all of them at the same time, what different impressions are made and what different conclusions are produced in the minds of the different jurors. Illustrations of this exist in the decisions of our Supreme Court, wherein, after full argument and fair investigation, with ample opportunity for comparison of views, explanations, and arguments, all based upon the same state of facts, the same witnesses; yet, in how many cases do we find differences of opinion among the members of the court, and questions of the gravest import and of the most vital character settled for the whole nation by votes of 8 to 7 and 5 to 4? The author has examined, and in other places shown, the fallacy of the rule that like produces like. Like causes produce like effects is a law of nature, but when the decision rests upon the judgment of man and depends upon his reason and his intellect, our common knowledge testifies that this law has no application. When the proposition to be determined has to be submitted to individuals of widely separated and distinct countries between whom there has been neither communication nor contact, and who have received no suggestion as to their respective ideas or needs, or the means of satisfying them, it seems to the author that no rule can be predicated upon the similarity of human condition, of human reason, or of human intellect, certainly none which can be depended on to produce the same conclusion.

Consideration of the facility with which symbols, signs, myths, fables, stories, history, etc., are transmitted from one people to another and from one country to another, should not be omitted in this discussion. It may have slight relation to the Swastika to mention the migrations of the present time, but it will give an idea of the possibility of past times. In this regard we have but to consider the immense number of articles or objects in museums and collections, public and private, representing almost every country and people. We there find objects from all quarters of the globe, from the five continents, and all the islands of the sea. Some of them are of great antiquity, and it is a matter of wonderment how they should have made such long passages and have been preserved from destruction by the vicissitudes of time and space. We have but to consider how money passes from hand to hand and is always preserved to be passed on to the next. Every collection of importance throughout the world possesses a greater or less number of Greek and Roman coins antedating the Christian era. We have an excellent illustration of these possibilities in the word 'halloo," commonly rendered as "hello." A few years ago this word, was peculiar to the English language, yet an incident lately occurred in the city of Washington, within sight of my own residence, by which this word, "hello," has traveled the world around, has spread itself over land and sea, has attached itself to and become part of most every spoken language of civilization, and without much consideration as to its meaning; but being on the procrustean bed of imitation, there are people, foreigners, who believe that the telephone can be only made to respond when the demand is made "hello!"

MIGRATION OF CLASSIC SYMBOLS.

Count Goblet d'Alviella, in "La Migration des Symboles," traces many ancient symbols from what he believes to be their place of origin to their modern habitat. The idea he elucidates in his book is indicated in its title.

The sacred tree of the Assyrians.—This he holds to be one of the oldest historic symbols; that it had its origin in Mesopotamia, one of the earliest civilized centers of the world. Beginning with its simplest form, the sacred tree grew into an ornate and highly complex pattern, invariably associated with religious subjects. Two living creatures always stand on either side, facing it and each other. First they were monsters, like winged bulls or griffins, and after became human or semihuman personages—priests or kings, usually in the attitude of devotion. The Count says the migration of both these types can be readily traced. The tree between the two monsters or animals passed from Mesopotamia to India, where it was employed by the Buddhists and Brahmins, and has continued in use in that country to the present time. It passed to the Phenicians, and from Asia Minor to Greece. From the Persians it was introduced to the Byzantines, and during the early ages, into Christian symbolism in Sicily and Italy, and even penetrated to the west of France. The other type—that is, the tree between two semi-human personages—followed the same route into India, China, and eastern Asia, and, being found in the ancient Mexican and Maya codices, it forms part of the evidence cited by the Count as a pre-Columbian communication between the Old World and the New. He argues this out by similarity of the details of attitude and expression of the human figure, the arrangement of the branches of the sacred tree, etc.

The sacred cone of Mesopotamia.—This was worshipped by the western Semites as their great goddess, under the image of a conical stone.

Its figurative representation is found alike on monuments, amulets, and coins. On some Phenician monuments there is to be seen, superadded to the cone, a horizontal crossbar on the middle of which rests a handle. This shape bears a striking resemblance to the *Crux ansata* (fig. 4), and, like it, was a symbol of life in its widest and most abstract meaning. The resemblance between them is supposed to have caused them to have been mistaken and employed one for the other in the same character of symbol and talisman. It is alleged that the Ephesian Artemis was but the sacred cone of Mesopotamia anthropomorphized, although, with the halo added to Artemis, the allegation of relationship has been made in respect of the *Crux ansata.*

The Crux ansata, the key of life.—This is probably more widely known in modern times than any other Egyptian symbol. Its hieroglyphic name is *Ankh*, and its signification is "to live." As an emblem of life, representing the male and female principle united, it is always borne in the hands of the gods, it is poured from a jar over the head of the king in a species of baptism, and it is laid symbolically on the lips of the mummy to revive it. From Egypt the *Crux ansata* spread first among the Phenicians, and then throughout the whole Semitic world, from Sardinia to Susiana.

The winged globe.—This was a widely spread and highly venerated Egyptian symbol. From Egypt it spread, under various modifications, throughout the Old World. It is formed by a combination of the representations of the sun that have prevailed in different localities in Egypt, the mythology of which ended by becoming a solar drama. Two uræus snakes or asps, with heads erect, are twisted round a globe-shaped disk, behind which are the outstretched wings of a hawk, and on its top the horns of a goat. It commemorates the victory of the principle of light and good over that of darkness and evil. It spread readily among the Phenicians, where it is found suspended over the sacred tree and the sacred cone, and was carried wheresoever their art was introduced—westward to Carthage, Sicily, Sardinia, and Cyprus, eastward to Western Asia. Very early it penetrated on the north to the Hittites, and when it reached Mesopotamia, in the time of Sargonidæ, the winged circle assumed the shape of the wheel or rosette, surmounted by a scroll with upcurled extremities and with a feathered tail opening out like a fan, or a human figure in an attitude sometimes of benediction, sometimes warlike, was inscribed within the disk. Then it was no longer exclusively a solar emblem, but served to express the general idea of divinity. From Mesopotamia it passed to Persia, principally in the anthropoid type. It was, however, never adopted by Greece, and it is nowhere met with in Europe, except, as before stated, in the Mediterranean islands. When Greece took over from Asia symbolic combinations in which it was originally represented, she replaced it by the thunderbolt. But the aureole, or halo, which encircles the heads of her divinities, and which Christian art has borrowed from the classic, was directly derived from it.

The caduceus.—This is one of the interesting symbols of antiquity. It appears in many phases and is an excellent illustration of the migration of symbols. Its classic type held in the hand of Mercury and used to-day as a symbol of the healing art—a winged rod round which two serpents are symmetrically entwined—is due to the mythographers of later times, and is very remote from its primitive form. In the Homeric hymn it is called "the golden rod, three-petaled of happiness and wealth," which Phœbus gave to the youthful Hermes, but on early Greek monuments the three leaves are represented by a disk surmounted by an incomplete circle. In this shape it constantly appears on Phenician monuments; and at Carthage, where it seems to have been essentially a solar emblem, it is nearly always associated with the sacred cone. It is found on Hittite monuments, where it assumes the form of a globe surmounted by horns. Numerous origins and manifold antecedents have been attributed to it, such as an equivalent of the thunderbolt, a form of the sacred tree, or a combination of the solar globe with the lunar crescent. Some examples seem to indicate a transition from the sacred tree surmounted by the solar disk, to the form of the caduceus of the Hittites. Our author believes it was employed originally as a religious or military standard or flag, and that it was gradually modified by coming in contact with other symbols. Some Assyrian bas-reliefs display a military standard, sometimes consisting of a large ring placed upon a staff with two loose bandelets attached, sometimes of a winged globe similarly disposed. This Assyrian military standard may be the prototype of the labarum, which Constantine, after his conversion to Christianity, chose for his own standard, and which might equally well have been claimed by the sun worshipers. Under its latest transformation in Greece, a winged rod with two serpents twined round it, it has come down to our own times representing two of the functions of Hermes, more than ever in vogue among men, industry and commerce. It has survived in India under the form of two serpents entwined, probably introduced in the track of Alexander the Great. It was also met with in that country in earlier times in its simpler form, a disk surmounted by a crescent, resembling our astronomical sign for the planet Mercury. This earliest type of the caduceus, a disk surmounted by a crescent, appears at a remote date in India, and seems to have been confounded with the trisula.

The trisula.—This form of the trident peculiar to the Buddhists was of great importance in the symbolism of the Hindus; but whether it was an imitation of the type of thunderbolt seen on Assyrian sculptures, or was devised by them spontaneously, is uncertain. Its simplest form, which is, however, rarely met with, is an omicron (*ο*) surmounted by an omega (*ω*). Nearly always the upper portion is flanked by two small circles, or by two horizontal strokes which often take the appearance of leaves or small wings. The points of the omega are generally changed into small circles, leaves, or trefoil; and the disk itself is placed on a pedestal. From its lower arc there fall two spires like serpents' tails with the ends curving, sometimes up and sometimes down. This is a very complex symbol. None of the Buddhist texts give any positive information in regard to its origin or meaning, and few symbols have given rise to more varied explanations. The upper part of the figure is frequently found separated from the lower; sometimes this is plainly a trident superposed upon a disk-shaped nucleus. The trident may possibly have symbolized the flash of lightning, as did Neptune's trident among the Greeks, but more probably it is the image of the solar radiation. Among the northern Buddhists it personifies the heaven of pure flame superposed upon the heaven of the sun. Though undoubtedly a Hindu emblem, its primitive shape seems to have early felt the influence of the caduceus, while its more complex forms exhibit a likeness to certain types of the winged globe. Still later the trisula was converted by Brahmanism into an anthropoid figure, and became the image of Jagenath. The vegetable kingdom was also laid under contribution, and the trisula came into a resemblance of the tree of knowledge. Although we have learned the probable signification of its factors in the creeds that preceded Buddhism, we know very little about its meaning in the religion that used it most, but it is a symbol before which millions have bowed in reverence. The plastic development of the trisula shows with what facility emblems of the most dissimilar origin may merge into each other when the opportunity of propinquity is given, and there is sufficient similarity in form and meaning.

The double-headed eagle on the escutcheon of Austria and Russia.—Count D'Alviella tells the history of the migration of the symbol of the double-headed eagle on the escutcheon of Austria and Russia. It was originally the type of the Garuda bird of southern India, found on temple sculptures, in carved wood, on embroideries, printed and woven cloths, and on amulets. It first appears on the so-called Hittite sculptures at Eyuk, the ancient Pteria in Phrygia. In 1217 it appeared on the coins and standards of the Turkoman conquerors of Asia Minor.

In 1227–28 the Emperor Frederick II undertook the sixth crusade, landing at Acre in the latter year, and being crowned King of Jerusalem in 1229. Within thirty years from these dates the symbol appeared on the coins of certain Flemish princes, and in 1345 it replaced the single-headed eagle on the armorial bearing of the holy Roman Empire. Thus, the historic evidence of the migration of this symbol, from the far east to the nations of the west by direct contact, would seem complete.

The lion rampant of Belgium.—This lion was incorporated into the Percy or Northumberland escutcheon by the marriage of Joceline of Louvain, the second son of Godfrey, the Duke of Brabant, to Agnes, the sister and heir of all the Percys. The Counts of Flanders, Brabant, and Louvain bore as their coat of arms the lion rampant facing to the left, which is the present coat of arms of the King of Belgium. The story is thus told in Burke's "Peerage" (1895): Agnes de Percy married Joceline of Louvain, brother of Queen Adeliza, second wife of Henry I, and son of Godfrey Barbalus, Duke of Lower Brabant and Count of Brabant, who was descended from the Emperor Charlemagne. Her ladyship, it is stated, would only consent, however, to this great alliance upon condition that Joceline should adopt either the surname or arms of Percy, the former of which, says the old family tradition, he accordingly assumed, and retained his own paternal coat in order to perpetuate his claim to the principality of his father, should the elder line of the reigning duke become extinct. The matter is thus stated in the old pedigree at Sion House: "The ancient arms of Hainault this Lord Jocelyn retained, and gave his children the surname of Percy."

The migration of this lion rampant is interesting. It was in the twelfth century the coat of arms of the King of Albania. Phillippe d'Alsace, the eldest son of Thierry d'Alsace, was Count of Flanders, sixteenth in succession, tracing his ancestry back to 621 A. D. The original and ancient coat of arms of the Counts of Flanders consisted of a small shield in the center of a larger one, with a sunburst of six rays. Phillippe d'Alsace reigned as Count of Flanders and Brabant from 1168 to 1190 A. D. He held an important command in two crusades to the Holy Land. During a battle in one of these crusades, he killed the King of Albania in a hand-to-hand conflict, and carried off his shield with its escutcheon of the lion rampant, which Phillippe transferred to his own shield, took as his own coat of arms, and it has been since that time the coat of arms of the Counts of Flanders and Brabant, and is now that of Belgium. The lion in the escutcheon can thus be traced by direct historic evidence through Northumberland, Flanders and Louvain back to its original owner, the King of Albania, in the twelfth century. Thus is the migration of the symbol traced by communication and contact, and thus are shown the possibilities in this regard which go far toward invalidating, if they do not destroy, the presumption of separate invention in those cases wherein, because of our ignorance of the facts, we have invoked the rule of separate invention.

Greek art and architecture.—It has come to be almost a proverb in scientific investigation that we argue from the known to the unknown. We might argue from this proverb in favor of the migration of the Swastika symbol and its passage from one people to another by the illustration of the Greek fret, which is in appearance closely related to the Swastika; and, indeed, we might extend the illustration to all Greek architecture. It is a well-known fact, established by numberless historic evidences, that the Greek architecture of ancient times migrated—that is, passed by communication and contact of peoples, and by transfer of knowledge from one man to another, and from one generation to the succeeding generation, until it became known throughout all western countries. The architects of Rome, Vicenza, Paris, London, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, and San Francisco derive their knowledge of Grecian architecture in its details of Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian styles by direct-communication, either spoken, written or graphic, from the Greek architects who practiced, if they did not invent, these styles.

The Greek fret.—This has migrated in the same manner. As to its invention or origin, we have little to do in the present argument. Whether the fret was the ancestor or the descendant of the Swastika is of no moment to our present question. It has been demonstrated in the early part of this paper that both it and the Swastika had a common existence in early if not prehistoric Greece, and that both were employed in perfected form on the same specimen of Archaic Greek pottery. Figs. 133 and 134 demonstrate that these two signs migrated together from Greece to Egypt, for the particular specimen mentioned was found at Naukratis, Egypt. From this high antiquity the Greek fret has migrated to practically every country in the world, and has been employed during all historic time by the peoples of every civilization. The fret is known historically to have passed by means of teachers, either through speaking, writing, or drawing, and never yet a suggestion that its existence or appearance in distant countries depended upon separate invention or independent discovery.

Why strain at the gnat of independent invention of the Swastika when we are compelled to swallow the camel of migration when applied to the Greek fret and architecture? The same proposition of migration applies to Greek art, whether of sculpture, engraving, or gem carving. These ancient Grecian arts are as well known in all quarters of the civilized globe at the present day as they were in their own country, and this was all done by communication between peoples either through speaking, writing, or drawing. So far from being separate inventions, the modern sculptor or engraver, with full historic knowledge of the origin or, at least, antiquity of these arts, and with an opportunity for inspection and study of the specimens, is still unable to reproduce them or to invent original works of so high an order. The imaginary and newly invented theory that culture is the result of the psychologic nature of man manifesting itself in all epochs and countries, and among all peoples, by the evolution of some new discovery made to fit a human need—that as all human needs in a given stage are the same, therefore all human culture must, *per se*, pass through the same phases or stages—is a theory to which I refuse adhesion. It receives a hard blow when we take down the bars to the modern sculptor, requiring of him neither original invention nor independent discovery, but permitting him to use, study, adapt, and even servilely copy the great Greek art works, and we know that with all these opportunities and advantages he can not attain to their excellence, nor reach their stage of art culture.

VII.—Prehistoric Objects associated with the Swastika, found in both Hemispheres, and believed to have passed by Migration.

SPINDLE-WHORLS.

Spindle-whorls are first to be considered. These are essentially prehistoric utensils, and are to be found in every part of the world where the inhabitants were sufficiently cultured to make twisted threads or cords, whether for hunting or fishing, games, textile fabrics, or coverings, either for themselves, their tents, or other purposes. In western Asia, all of Europe, in the pueblos of North America, and among the aborigines—by whatever name they are called—of Mexico, Central America, and the north and west coast of South America, wherever the aborigines employed cord, cloth, or fiber, the spindle-whorl is found. Where they used skins for the coverings of themselves or their tents, the spindle-whorl may not be found. Thus, in the Eskimo land, and among certain of the North American savages, spindle-whorls are rarely if ever found.

The spindle-whorl was equally in use in Europe and Asia during the Neolithic Age as in the Bronze Age. It continued in use among the peasants in remote and outlying districts into modern times. During the Neolithic Age its materials were stone and terra cotta; during the Bronze Age they were almost exclusively terra cotta. They are found of both materials. Recently a Gallo-Roman tomb was opened at Clermont-Ferrand and found to contain the skeleton of a young woman, and with it her spindles and whorls.[1]

The existence of spindle-whorls in distant and widely separated countries affords a certain amount of presumptive evidence of migrations of peoples from one country to another, or of contact or communication between them. If the people did not themselves migrate and settle the new country, taking the spindle-whorls and other objects with them, then the spindle-whorl itself, or the knowledge of how to make and use it, must in some other way have gotten over to the new country.

This argument of migration, contact, or communication does not rest solely on the similarity of the whorls in the distant countries, but equally on the fact of spinning thread from the fiber; and this argument is reenforced by the similarity of the operation and of the tool or machine with which it was done. It has been said elsewhere that the probability of communication between widely separated peoples by migration or contact depended for its value as evidence, in some degree, upon the correspondence or similarity of the object considered, and that this value increased with the number of items of correspondence, the closeness of similarity, the extent of the occurrence, and the difficulty of its performance. So we pass to the similarity in size, appearance, mode of manufacture, and, finally, the use of the whorls of the two continents.

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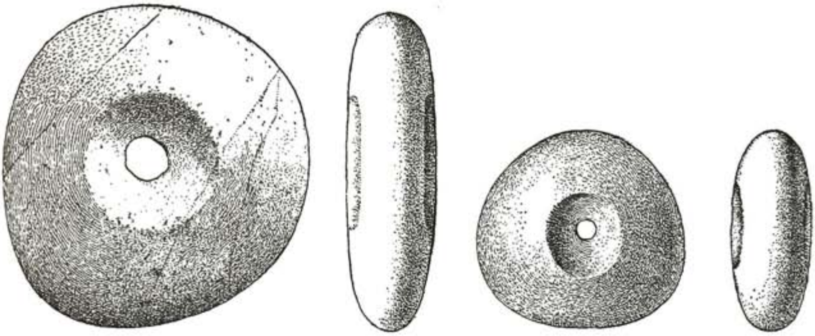
[1] Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop., Paris, October, 1893, p. 600.

EUROPE.

Switzerland—Lake dwellings.—Figs. 345 and 346 show stone spindle-whorls from prehistoric Swiss lake dwellings. These are in the U. S. National Museum, and with them are dozens of others of the same kind and style from all other parts of Europe. Fig. 347 shows a stone spindle-whorl from Lund, Sweden. It is in the U. S. National Museum and was contributed by Professor Jillson. Figs. 348, 349, and 350 represent terra-cotta spindle-whorls from the Swiss lakes. These specimens were selected to show the different patterns, to illustrate their unlikeness instead of their likeness, to give an understanding of the various kinds of whorls rather than that they were all one kind, a fad which should be kept in mind during this argument.



Figs. 345 and 346.
STONE SPINDLE-WHORLS.
Neolithic.
Swiss lake dwellings.
U. S. National Museum.

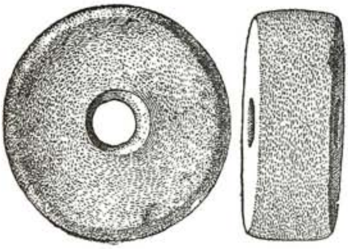


Fig. 347.
STONE SPINDLE-WHORL.
Neolithic.
Lund, Sweden.
Cat. No. 5281, U. S. N. M.

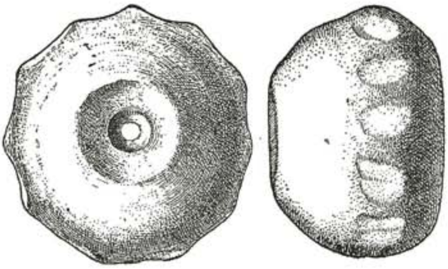


Fig. 348.
TERRA-COTTA SPINDLE-WHORL.
Neolithic or Bronze Age.
Swiss lake dwellings.
Cat. No. 100642, U. S. N. M.

Italy.—Figs. 351, 352, and 353 show terra-cotta spindle-whorls from Orvieto, Italy, 78 miles north from Rome. Figs. 354 and 355 represent spindle-whorls from Corneto, Italy, 63 miles north from Rome. As remarked above, they have been chosen to represent the different kinds. There are thousands of these whorls found in Italy. In the Archæological Exposition at Turin, 1884, the number was so great that they were twined about the columns, thereby providing a place of storage as well as a place of display.

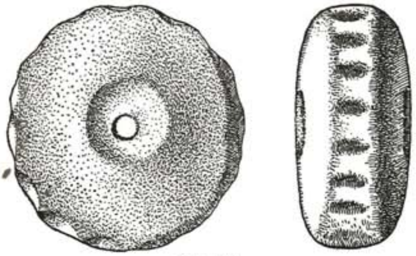


Fig. 349.

TERRA-COTTA SPINDLE-WHORL.

Neolithic or Bronze Age.

Swiss lake dwellings.

Cat. No. 100642, U. S. N. M.

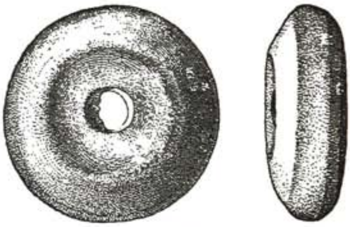
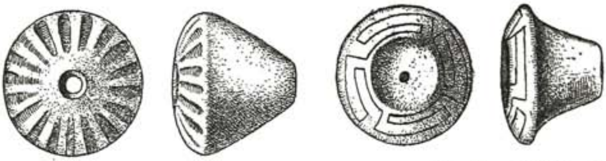


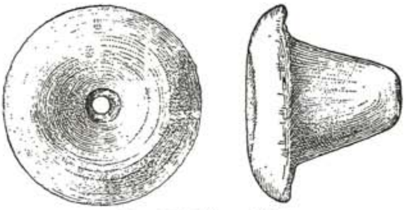
Fig. 350.

TERRA-COTTA SPINDLE-WHORL.

Swiss lake dwellings.

Cat. No. 100647, U. S. N. M.





Figs. 351, 352, and 353.

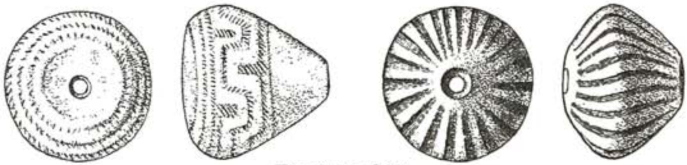
PREHISTORIC TERRA-COTTA SPINDLE-WHORLS.

Orvieto, Italy.

Cat. Nos. 101671, 101672, U. S. N. M.

Wurtemburg.—Dr. Charles Rau procured for, and there is now in, the U. S. National Museum a spindle (fig. 356) with its whorl which had been in use for spinning from 1860 to 1870, and which he obtained in Wurtemburg, Germany, from the woman who had used it.

France.—The author has seen the French peasants in Brittany spinning their thread in the same way, and once took a photograph of one in the hamlet of Pont-Aven, Morbihan, but it failed in development.

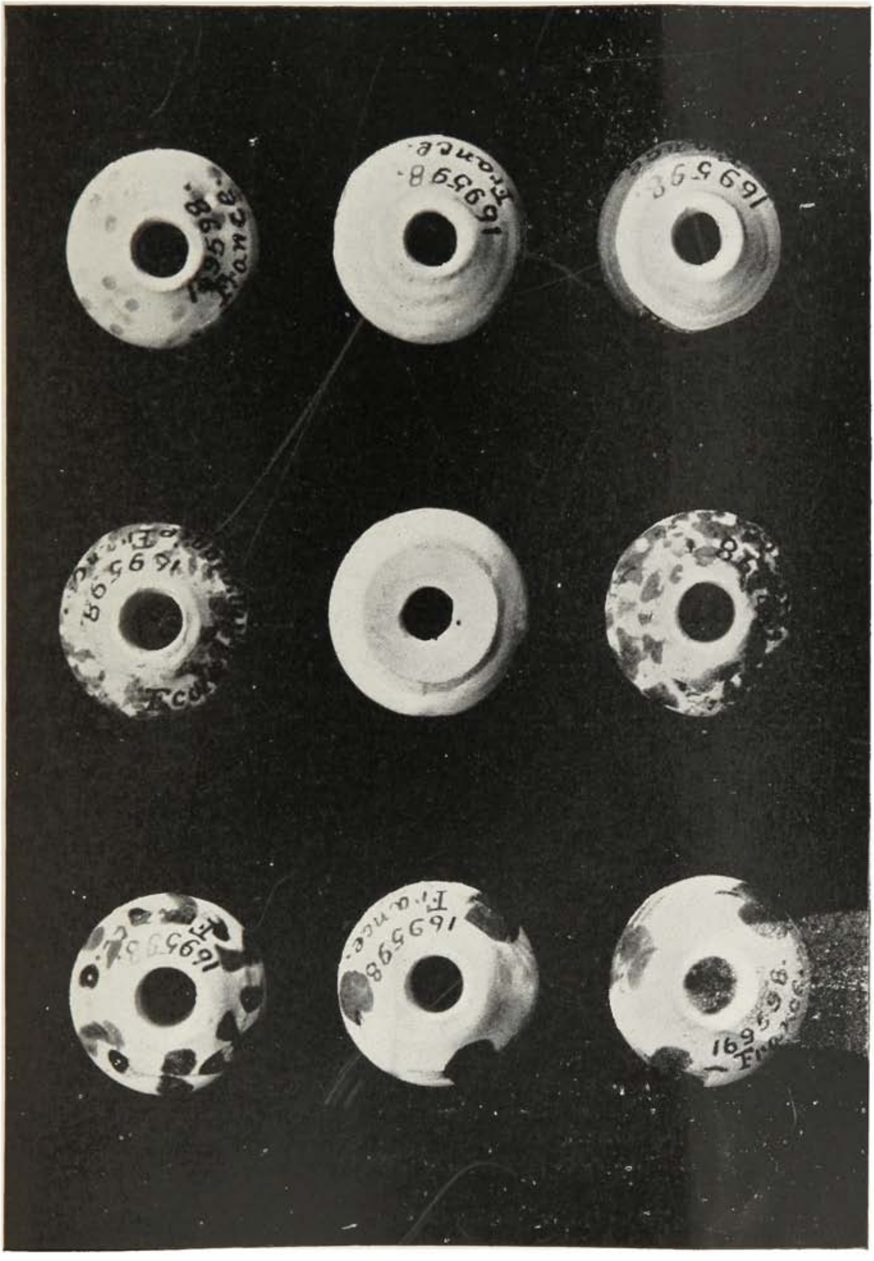


Figs. 354 and 355.

PREHISTORIC SPINDLE-WHORLS.

Corneto, Italy.

Cat. No. 101773, U. S. N. M.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SPINDLE-WHORLS OF MODERN PORCELAIN FROM SOUTHERN FRANCE.

Cat. No. 169598, U. S. N. M.

In 1893 Mr. Harle purchased at St. Gerons, Ardeche, a merchant's entire stock of modern porcelain spindle-whorls. The manufactory was located at Martres-Tolosane, and the trade extended throughout the Pyrenees. He presented a series to the Société d'Anthropologie at Paris, July, 1893.[1]

The U. S. National Museum has lately received, through the kindness of the École d'Anthropologie, a series of nine of these porcelain whorls (pl. 21). The wheel and modern machines for spinning have penetrated this corner of the world, and these whorls are the last emblem of an industry dating slightly after the advent of man on earth and already old in that locality when Roland crossed the mountain pass near there and sounded his "Oliphant," calling for help from Charlemagne. These are the death chant of the industry of hand spinning in that country.

NORTH AMERICA—PRE-COLUMBIAN TIMES.

The North American Indians employed rushes and animal skins as the principal coverings for themselves and their tents. They used sinews and thongs for thread and cord, and thus avoided largely the necessity for spinning fiber or making textiles; for these or possibly other reasons, we find few spindle-whorls among them compared with the number found in Europe. Yet the North American Indians made and used textile fabrics, and there are pieces of woven cloth from mounds in Ohio now in the Department of Prehistoric Anthropology, U. S. National Museum. The Pueblo Indians spun thread and wove cloth in pre-Columbian times, and those within the States of Colorado and Utah and the adjoining Territories of Arizona and New Mexico, particularly the Navajoes, have been long noted for their excellence in producing textile fabrics. Specimens of their looms and thread are on display in the National Museum and have been published in the reports. Special attention is called to that by Dr. Washington Matthews in the Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1881–82. Dr. Matthews is of the opinion that the work of the Pueblo Indians antedated that of the Navajoes, that the latter learned the art from the former since the advent of the Spaniards; and he remarks that the pupils now excel their masters in the beauty and quality of their work. He declares that the art of weaving has been carried to greater perfection among the Navajoes than among any native tribe in America north of the Mexican boundary; while with none in the entire continent has it been less influenced by contact with Europeans.

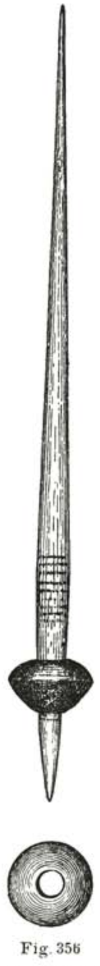

Fig. 356

MODERN SPINDLE AND WHORL USED FOR SPINNING THREAD.

Wurtemburg, Germany.

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[1] Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop., Paris, pp. 461–462.

The superiority of the Navajo to the Pueblo work results not only from a constant advance of the weavers' art among the former, but from a deterioration of it among the latter. This deterioration among the Pueblo Indians he attributes to their contact with the whites, their inclination being to purchase rather than to make woven fabrics, while these influences seem not to have affected the Navajoes. He represents a Navajo woman spinning (see pl. 22 of the present paper). She is seated, and apparently whorls the spindle by rubbing it on her leg. The spindle is of wood, as are all other spindles, but the whorl is also of wood. In this these people are peculiar and perhaps unique. The whorl, among most other savage or prehistoric peoples, as we have already seen, was of stone or clay. These wooden whorls are thinner and larger, but otherwise they are the same. An inspection of the plate will show that with it the spinning apparatus forms the same machine, accomplishes the same purpose, and does it in the same way. The sole difference is in the size and material of the whorl. The difference in material accounts for the difference in size. It is not improbable that the Indian discovered that the wooden whorl would serve as well as a stone or pottery one, and that it was easier made. The machine in the hands of the woman, as shown in the figure, is larger than usual, which may be accounted for by the thread of wool fiber used by the Navajo being thicker and occupying more space than the flaxen thread of prehistoric times; so it may have been discovered that a large whorl of wood served their purpose better than a small one of stone. Stone whorls of large size might be too heavy. Thus may be explained the change from small stone or pottery whorls to large wooden ones.

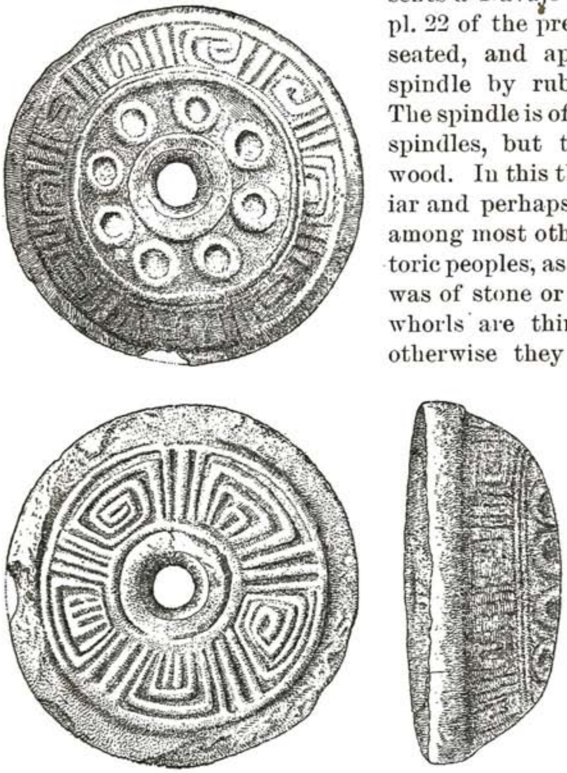


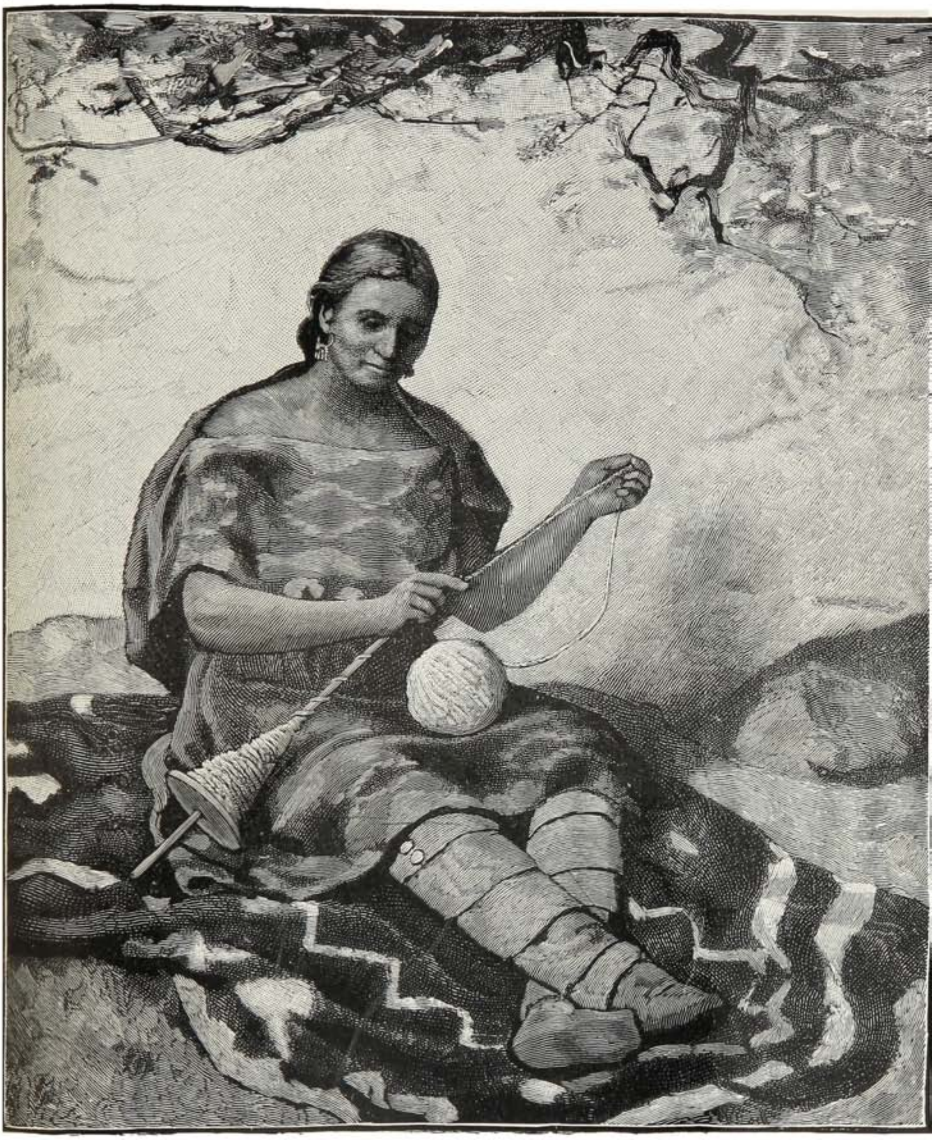
Fig. 357.

TERRA-COTTA SPINDLE-WHORL WITH DESIGN SIMILAR TO SWASTIKA.

Valley of Mexico.

Cat. No. 27875, U. S. N. M.

Mexico.—Fig. 357 represents the two sides and edge of a pottery terra-cotta spindle-whorl. It is the largest of a series of six (Cat. Nos.



NAVAJO WOMAN USING SPINDLE AND WHORL.

Dr. Washington Matthews, Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1881-82, Pl. XXXIV.

27875–27880) from the valley of Mexico, sent to the U. S. National Museum by the Mexican National Museum in 1877. Fig. 358 also represents one of a series from Mexico, obtained by W. W. Blake, July, 1886 (Cat. Nos. 99051–99059). The National Museum possesses hundreds of these from Mexico, as well as the small ones from Peru.

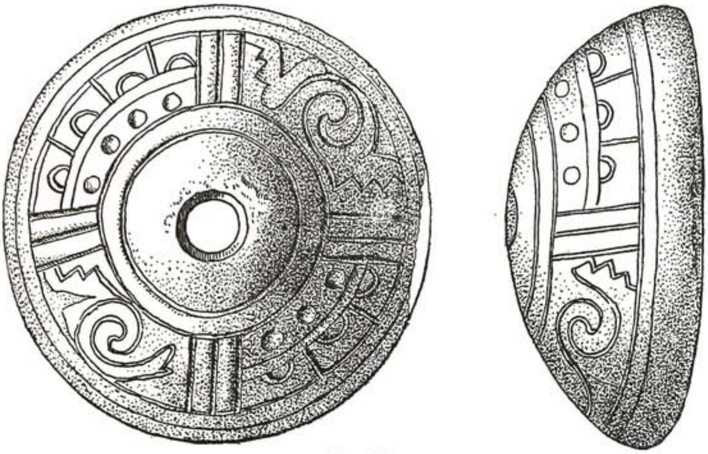


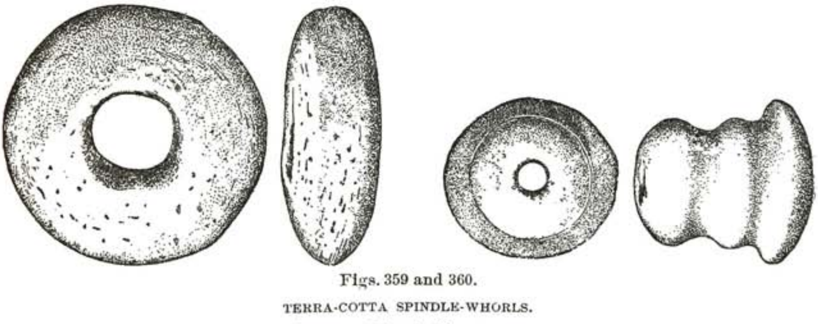
Fig. 358.

MEXICAN TERRA-COTTA SPINDLE-WHORL WITH DESIGN SIMILAR TO SWASTIKA.

These specimens are chosen because they are the largest and most elaborately decorated. It will be perceived at a glance how the style of decoration lends itself to the Swastika. It consists mostly of geometric figures, chief of which is the Greek fret, the labyrinth, the circle, and the volute, but as in the color stamps (pp. 946–947) there is no Swastika.

CENTRAL AMERICA.

Nicaragua.—The specimen shown in fig. 359, from Omotepe Island, Lake Nicaragua, is one of a series of pottery spindle-whorls, bearing, however, great resemblance to those of stone. Fig. 360 shows a specimen from the same locality. It is of pottery and bears much resem-



Figs. 359 and 360.

TERRA-COTTA SPINDLE-WHORLS.

Omotepe Island, Nicaragua.

Cat. Nos. 28898, 28899, U. S. N. M.

blance in form to the earliest whorls found by Schliemann on the site of Troy on the hill of Hissarlik. Both these were collected by Dr. J. F. Bransford, and are in the U. S. National Museum. Fig. 361 shows a specimen from Granada, Nicaragua. It is of the common shape of the European prehistoric spindle-whorl. Its flat surface is decorated with a Greek cross in incised lines, two quarters of which are filled with hatch marks. Fig. 362 shows a terra-cotta spindle-whorl from Malacate, Nicaragua. It is cone-shaped. Both these specimens were collected by Dr. Earl Flint.

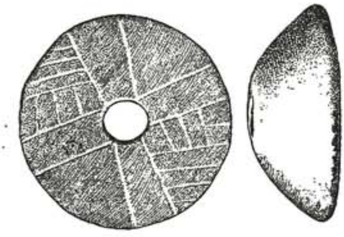


Fig. 361.

TERRA-COTTA SPINDLE-WHORL.

Granada, Nicaragua.

Cat. No. 23295, U. S. N. M.

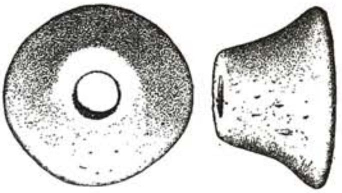


Fig. 362.

TERRA-COTTA SPINDLE-WHORL.

Malacate, Nicaragua.

Cat. No. 29009, U. S. N. M.

SOUTH AMERICA.

Chiriqui.—Figs. 363, 364, and 365 show terra-cotta spindle-whorls from Chiriqui, the most northern territory in South America and adjoining the Isthmus of Panama. They are engraved natural size, with ornamentation similar to that on the pottery of that country.

Colombia.—Fig. 366 shows a cone-shaped terra-cotta whorl from Manizales, Colombia, South America. It has a star-shaped design on the face and a three-line zigzag or chevron pattern.

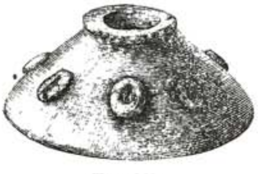


Fig. 363.

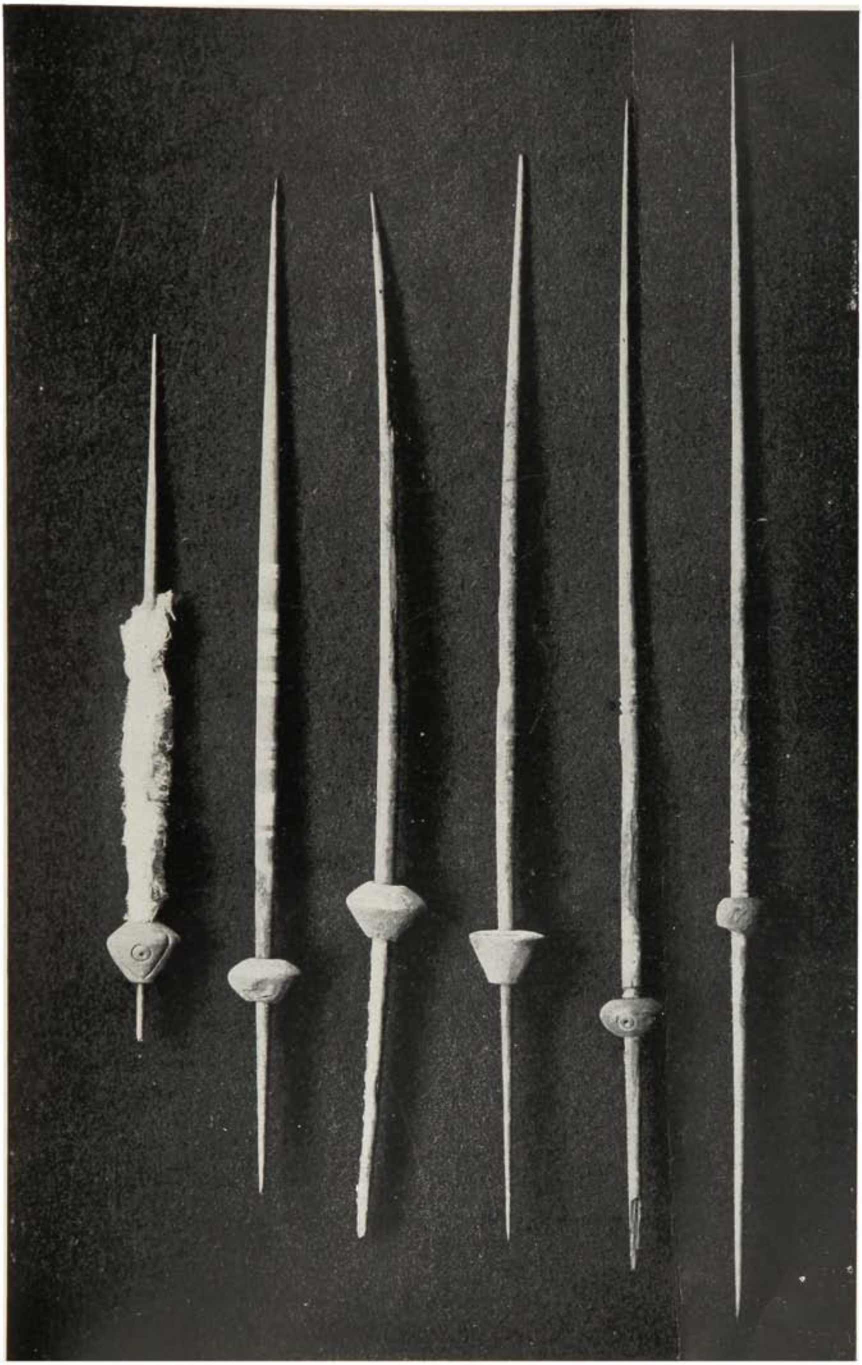
SPINDLE-WHORL MADE OF GRAY CLAY AND DECORATED WITH ANNULAR NODES.

Chiriqui.

Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 218.

Peru.—Plate 23 represents a series of spindles and whorls from Peru. They were furnished to the U. S. National Museum by I. V. Norton, of Plainville, N. Y. The whorls were originally considered to be beads, and were without further description. The spindles were not inserted in them as at present. The spindles, as well as whorls, are exceedingly small. Some of the whorls are decorated by incised lines in the clay, and many of the spindles are decorated in the middle with paint in different colors, in lines, scrolls, and chevrons. These are the only whorls from Peru which the U. S. National Museum has, though it possesses an extensive series of the spindles, several of which still have the spun thread wrapped upon them.

There are certain distinguishing peculiarities to be remarked when



SERIES OF ABORIGINAL SPINDLES AND WHORLS FROM PERU.
Cat. No. 17510, U. S. N. M.

comparing the spindle-whorls from the Western Hemisphere with those from the Eastern Hemisphere. There is greater diversity in size, form, and decoration in the American than in the European whorls. A series of European whorls from any given locality will afford a fair representation of those from almost every other locality. But it is different with the American specimens. Each section in America has a different style, not only different from the European specimens, but different from those of neighboring sections. Among the eighteen thousand whorls found by Dr. Schliemann on the hill of Hissarlik, there is scarcely one so large as those here shown from Mexico, while, on the other hand, there were only a few as small as the largest of the series from Peru. The difference in size and material in the Pueblo whorls has already been noticed. The ornamentation is also peculiar in that it adopts, not a particular style common to the utensil, but that it

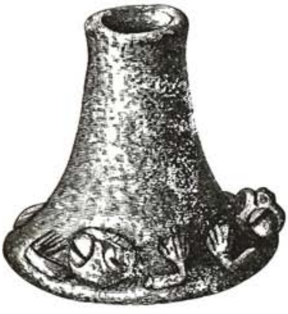


Fig. 364.

SPINDLE-WHORL OF GRAY CLAY WITH FIGURES OF ANIMALS.

Chiriqui.

Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 219.

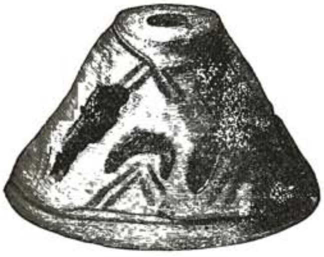


Fig. 365.

SPINDLE-WHORL OF DARK CLAY WITH PERFORATIONS AND INCISED ORNAMENTS.

Chiriqui.

Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, fig. 220.

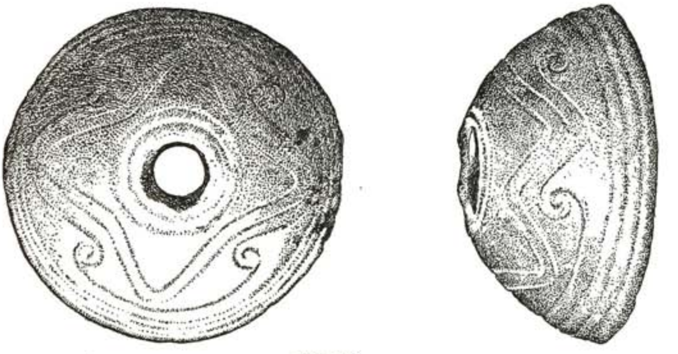


Fig. 366.

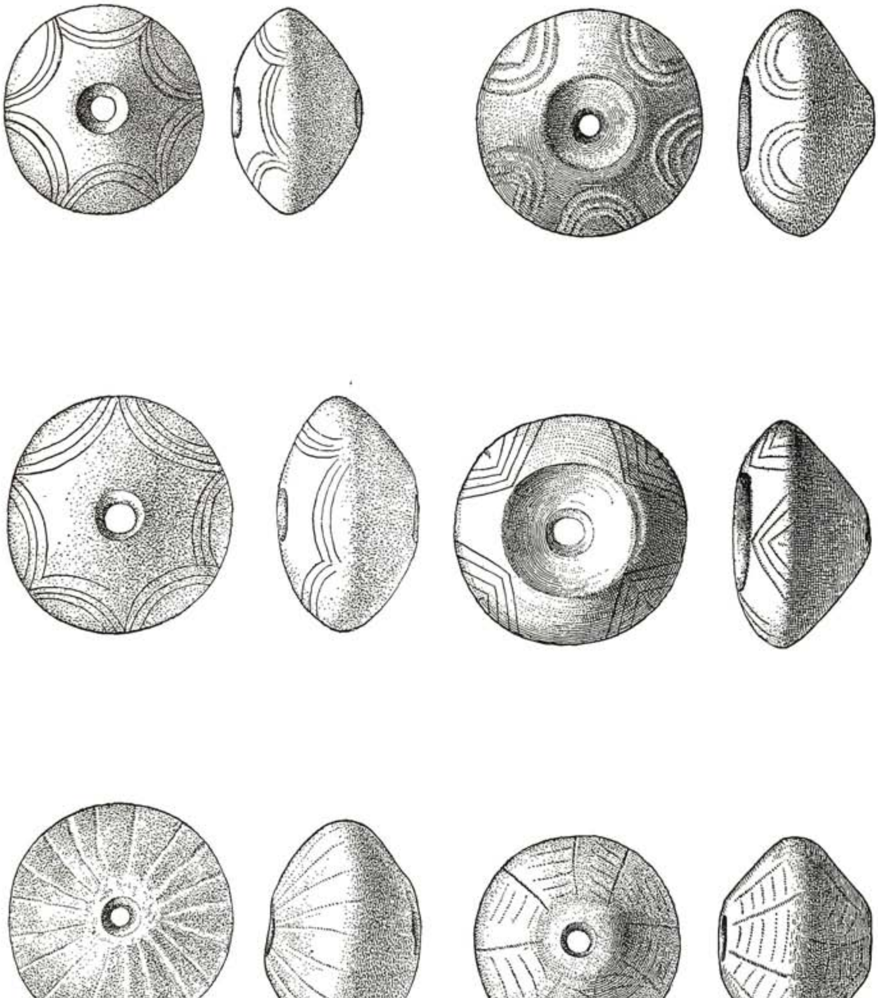
TERRA-COTTA SPINDLE-WHORL.

Manizales, Colombia.

Cat. No. 16838, U. S. N. M.

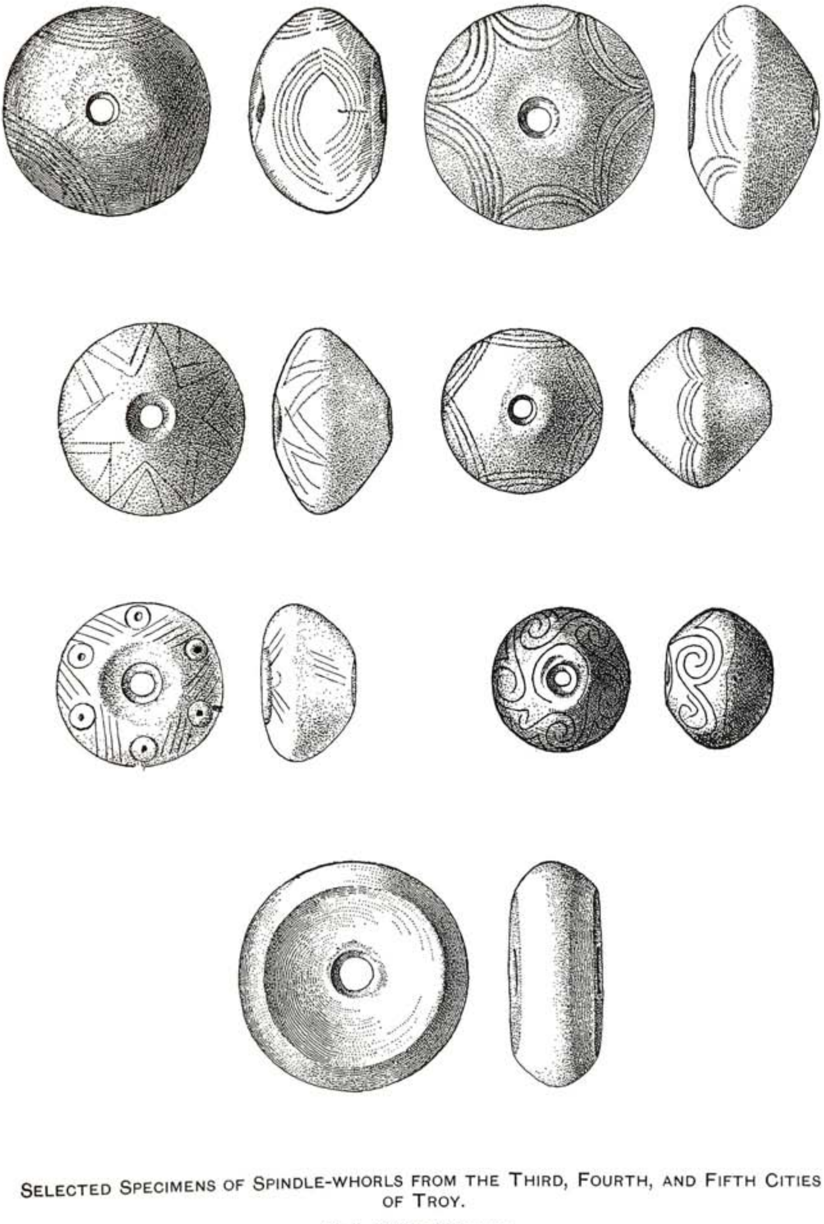
adopts the styles of the respective countries. The Mexican whorl has a Mexican style of ornamentation, etc. The Nicaragua specimens resemble the European more than any other from America in their forms and the almost entire absence of decoration.

The foregoing are the differences; but with all the number and extent of these differences the fact remains that the whorls of the two hemispheres are practically the same, and the differences are insignificant. In style, shape, and manner of use they are so similar in the two hemispheres as to be the same invention. The whorls, when put upon their spindles, form the same machine in both countries. They were intended for and they accomplish the same purpose, and the method of their performance is practically the same. While the similarity of the art of spinning and the mechanism (*i. e.*, the spindle and whorl) by which it is accomplished may not prove conclusively that it migrated from the Eastern Hemisphere, nor yet show positive connection or communication between the two peoples, it goes a long way toward establishing such migration or communication. The similarity in the art and its mechanism appears to the author to show such resemblance with the like culture in the Eastern Hemisphere, and is so harmonious with the theory of migration or contact or communication, that if there shall be other objects found which either by their number or condition would prove to be a well-authenticated instance of migration from or contact or communication between the countries, the evidence of the similarity of the spindle-whorls would form a valuable addition to and largely increase the evidence to establish the main fact. Until that piece of well-authenticated evidence has been obtained, the question must, so far as concerns spindle-whorls, remain only a probability. The differences between them are of manner, and not of matter; in size and degree, but not in kind, and are not other or greater than might easily arise from local adaptation of an imported invention. Compare the Navajo spindle (pl. 22) with that from Wurtemburg, Germany (fig. 356), and these with the spindles and whorls from Peru (pl. 23). These facts are entirely in harmony with the possibility that the spindle and whorl, as a machine for spinning, was a single invention, and that its slight differentiations resulted from its employment by different peoples—the result of its intertribal migrations. For purposes of comparison, and to show the similarity of these objects in Europe, the author has introduced a series of spindle-whorls from Troy, Hissarlik (pls. 24 and 25). These belong to the U. S. National Museum, and form part of the valuable collection from Mme. Schliemann, the gift by her talented husband to the people of the United States as a token of his remembrance and grateful feelings toward them.



SELECTED SPECIMENS OF SPINDLE-WHORLS FROM THE THIRD, FOURTH, AND FIFTH CITIES OF TROY.

U. S. National Museum.



SELECTED SPECIMENS OF SPINDLE-WHORLS FROM THE THIRD, FOURTH, AND FIFTH CITIES OF TROY.

U. S. National Museum.

BOBBINS.

EUROPE.

We have already seen how an increase in the number of correspondences between objects from distant countries increases the weight of their evidence in favor of contact or communication between the peoples. If it should be found upon comparison that the bobbins on which thread is to be wound, as well as the spindle-whorls with which it is made, had been in use during prehistoric times in the two hemispheres, it would add to the evidence of contact or communication. The U. S. National Museum possesses a series of these bobbins, as they are believed to have been, running from large to small, comprising about one dozen specimens from Italy, one from Corneto and the others from Bologna, in which places many prehistoric spindle whorls have been found (figs. 367 and 368). These are of the type Villanova. The end as well as the side view is represented. The former is one of the largest, the latter of middle size, with others smaller forming a graduating series. The latter is engraved on the end by dotted incisions in three parallel lines arranged in the form of a Greek cross. A similar bobbin from Bologna bears the sign of the Swastika on its end (fig. 193).[1] It was found by Count Gozzadini and forms part of his collection in Bologna.

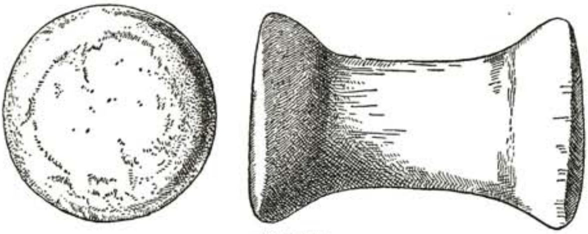


Fig. 367.

BOBBIN OR SPOOL FOR WINDING THREAD (?).

Type Villanova.

Corneto, Italy.

U. S. National Museum.

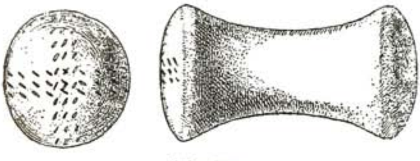


Fig. 368.

TERRA-COTTA BOBBIN OR SPOOL FOR WINDING THREAD (?).

Type Villanova.

Bologna, Italy.

Cat. No. 101771, U. S. N. M.

UNITED STATES.

The three following figures represent clay and stone bobbins, all from the State of Kentucky. Fig. 369 shows a bobbin elaborately decorated, from a mound near Maysville, Ky. It has a hole drilled longitudinally through the center. The end shows a cross of the Greek form with this hole in the center of the cross. Fig. 370 shows a similar object from Lexington, Ky., sent by the Kentucky University. It is of fine-grained sandstone, is drilled longitudinally through the center and decorated as shown. The end view shows a series of concentric circles with rows of dots in the intervals. Fig. 371 shows a similar object of fine-grained sandstone from Lewis County, Ky. It is also drilled longitudinally, and is decorated with rows of zigzag lines as shown. The end view represents four consecutive pentagons laid one on top of the other, which increase in size as they go outward, the hole through the bobbin being in the center of these pentagons, while the outside line is decorated with spikes or rays extending to the periphery of the bobbin, all of which is said to represent the sun. The specimen shown in fig. 372, of fine-grained sandstone, is from Maysville, Ky. The two ends are here represented because of the peculiarity of the decoration. In the center is the hole, next to it is a rude form of Greek cross which on one end is repeated as it goes farther from the center; on the other, the decoration consists of three concentric circles, one interval of which is divided by radiating lines at regular intervals, each forming a rectangle. Between the outer lines and the periphery are four radiating rays which, if completed all around, might form a sun symbol. Bobbins of clay have been lately discovered in Florida by Mr Clarence B. Moore and noted by Professor Holmes.

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[1] De Mortillet, "Musée Préhistorique," fig. 1239.

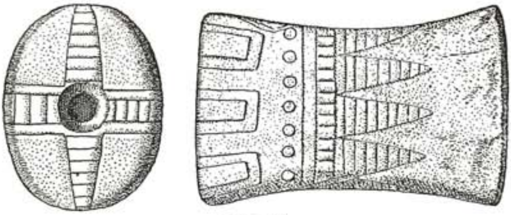
Fig. 369.
BOBBIN (?) FROM A MOUND NEAR MAYSVILLE, KENTUCKY.
Cat. No. 16748, U. S. N. M.

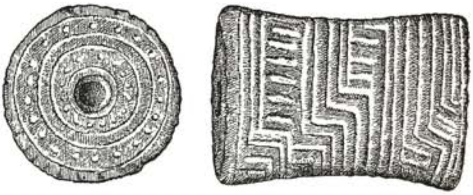
Fig. 370.
BOBBIN (?) FROM LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY.
Cat. No. 16691, U. S. N. M.

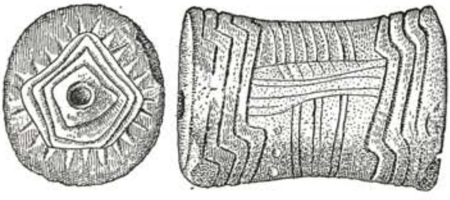
Fig. 371.
BOBBIN (?) OF FINE-GRAINED SANDSTONE.
Lewis County, Kentucky.
Cat. No. 59681, U. S. N. M.

Thus we find some of the same objects which in Europe were made and used by prehistoric man and which bore the Swastika mark have migrated to America, also in prehistoric times, where they were put to the same use and served the same purpose. This is certainly no inconsiderable testimony in favor of the migration of the sign.

VIII.—SIMILAR PREHISTORIC ARTS, INDUSTRIES, AND IMPLEMENTS IN EUROPE AND AMERICA AS EVIDENCE OF THE MIGRATION OF CULTURE.

The prehistoric objects described in the foregoing chapter are not the only ones common to both Europe and America. Related to the spindle-whorls and bobbins is the art of weaving, and it is perfectly susceptible of demonstration that this art was practiced in the two hemispheres in prehistoric times. Woven frabrics have been found in the Swiss lake dwellings, in Scandinavia, and in nearly all parts of Europe. They belonged to the Neolithic and Bronze ages.

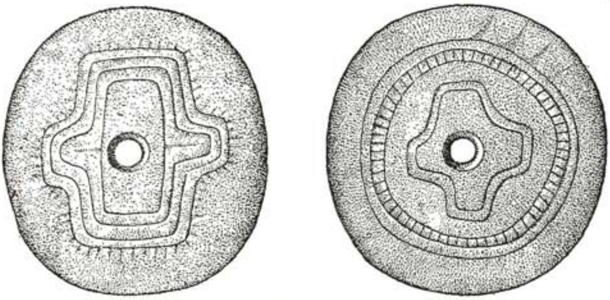

Fig. 372.

VIEW SHOWING BOTH ENDS OF A BOBBIN(?) OF FINE-GRAINED SANDSTONE.

Maysville, Kentucky.

Cat. No. 16747, U. S. N. M.

Figs. 373 and 374 illustrate textile fabrics in the Bronze Age. Both specimens are from Denmark, and the National Museum possesses another specimen (Cat. No. 136615) in all respects similar. While prehistoric looms may not have been found in Europe to be compared with the looms of modern savages in America, yet these specimens of cloth, with the hundreds of others found in the Swiss lake dwellings, afford the most indubitable proof of the use of the looms in both countries during prehistoric times.

Complementary to this, textile fabrics have been found in America, from the Pueblo country of Utah and Colorado, south through Mexico, Central and South America, and of necessity the looms with which they were made were there also. It is not meant to be said that the looms of the two hemispheres have been found, or that they or the textile fabrics are identical. The prehistoric looms have not been found in Europe, and those in America may have been affected by contact with the white man. Nor is it meant to be said that the textile fabrics of the two hemispheres are alike in thread, stitch, or pattern. But these at best are only details. The great fact remains that the prehistoric man of the two hemispheres had the knowledge to spin fiber into thread, to wind it on bobbins, and to weave it into fabrics; and whatever differences there may have been in pattern, thread, or cloth, they were finally and substantially the same art, and so are likely to have been the product of the same invention.

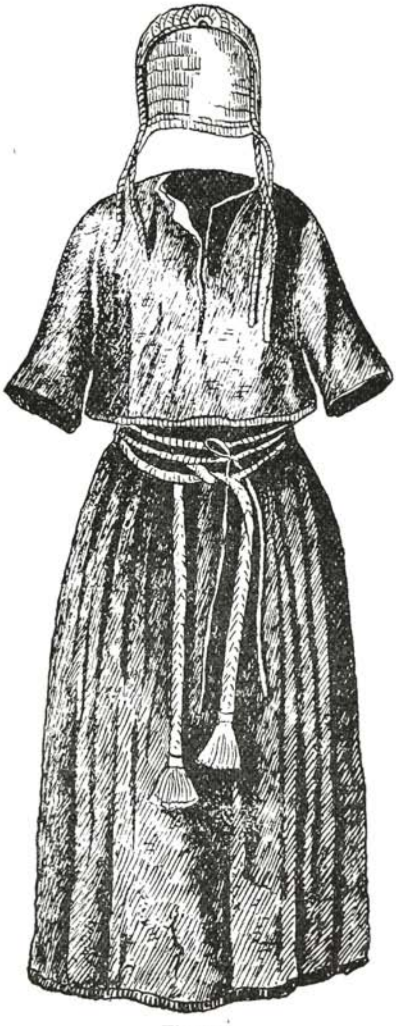

Fig. 373.

WOMAN'S WOOLEN DRESS FOUND IN AN OAK COFFIN AT BORUM-ESHOI, DENMARK.

Bronze Age.

Report of the Smithsonian Institution (U. S. National Museum), 1892, pl. ci, fig. 2.

While it is not the intention to continue this examination among the prehistoric objects of the two hemispheres in order to show their similarity and thus prove migration, contact, or communication, yet it may be well to mention some of them, leaving the argument or proof to a future occasion.

The polished stone hatchets of the two hemispheres are substantially the same. There are differences of material, of course, for in each country the workman was obliged to use such material as was obtainable. There are differences in form between the polished stone hatchets of the two hemispheres, but so there are differences between different localities in the same hemisphere. Some hatchets are long, others short, some round, others flat, some have a pointed end, others a square or nearly square or unfinished end; some are large, others small. But all these differences are to be found equally well pronounced within each hemisphere.

Scrapers have also been found in both hemispheres and in all ages. There are the same differences in material, form, and appearance as in the polished stone hatchet. There is one difference to be mentioned of this utensil—*i. e.*, in America the scraper has been sometimes made with a stem and with notches near the base, after the manner of arrow-

and spear-heads, evidently intended to aid, as in the arrow- and spear-head, in fastening the tool in its handle. This peculiarity is not found in Europe, or, if found, is extremely rare. It is considered that this may have been caused by the use of a broken arrow- or spear-head, which seems not to have been done in Europe. But this is still only a difference in detail, a difference slight and insignificant, one which occurs seldom and apparently growing out of peculiar and fortuitous conditions.

The art of drilling in stone was known over an extended area in prehistoric times, and we find innumerable examples which must have been performed in both hemispheres substantially in the same manner and with the same machine.

The art of sawing stone was alike practiced during prehistoric times in the two hemispheres. Many specimens have been found in the prehistoric deposits of both.

The aboriginal art of making pottery was also carried on in the same or a similar manner in both hemispheres. The examples of this art are as numerous as the leaves on the trees. There were differences in the manipulation and treatment, but the principal fact remains that the art was the same in both countries. Not only were the products greatly similar, but the same style of geometric decoration by incised lines is common to both. Greater progress in making pottery was made in the Western than in the Eastern Hemisphere during prehistoric times.

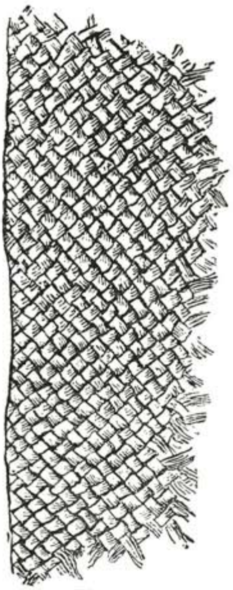

Fig. 374.

DETAIL OF DRESS SHOWN IN THE PRECEDING FIGURE.

The wheel was unknown in both hemispheres, and in both the manipulation of clay was by hand. True, in the Western Hemisphere there was greater dexterity and a greater number of methods employed. For example, the vase might be built up with clay inside a basket, which served to give both form and decoration; it was coiled, the damp clay being made in a string and so built up by a circular movement, drawing the side in or out as the string of clay was laid thereon, until it reached the top; it may have been decorated by the pressure of a textile fabric, real or simulated, into the damp clay. A few years ago it would have been true to have said that pottery decorated in this manner was peculiar to the Western Hemisphere, and that it had never been found in the Eastern Hemisphere, but Prince Poutjatine has lately found on his property, Bologoje, in the province of Novgorod, midway between Moscow and St. Petersburg, many pieces of prehistoric pottery which bear evidence of having been made in this manner, and while it may be rare in the Eastern Hemisphere, it is similar in these respects to thousands of pieces of prehistoric pottery in North America.

One of the great puzzles for archæologists has been the prehistoric jade implements found in both countries. The raw material of which these were made has never been found in sufficient quantities to justify anyone in saying that it is indigenous to one hemisphere and not to the other. It may have been found in either hemisphere and exported to the other. But of this we have no evidence except the discovery in both of implements made of the same material. This material is dense and hard. It is extremely difficult to work, yet the operations of sawing, drilling, carving, and polishing appear to have been conducted in both hemispheres with such similarity as that the result is practically the same.

Prehistoric flint-chipping was also carried on in both hemispheres with such similarity of results, even when performing the most difficult and delicate operations, as to convince one that there must have been some communication between the two peoples who performed them.

The bow and arrow is fairly good evidence of prehistoric migration, because of the singularities of the form and the intricacies of the machinery, and because it is probably the earliest specimen of a machine of two separate parts, by the use of which a missile could be sent at a greater distance and with greater force than if thrown by hand. It is possible that the sling was invented as early as the bow and arrow, although both were prehistoric and their origin unknown.

The bow and arrow was the greatest of all human inventions—greatest in that it marked man's first step in mechanics, greatest in adaptation of means to the end, and as an invented machine it manifested in the most practical and marked manner the intellectual and reasoning power of man and his superiority over the brute creation. It, more than any other weapon, demonstrated the triumph of man over the brute, recognizing the limitations of human physical capacity in contests with the brute. With this machine, man first successfully made up for his deficiency in his contests with his enemies and the capture of his game. It is useless to ask anything of history about the beginnings of the bow and arrow; wherever history appears it records the prior existence, the almost universal presence, and the perfected use of the bow and arrow as a weapon. Yet this machine, so strange and curious, of such intricacy of manufacture and difficulty of successful performance, had with all its similarities and likenesses extended in prehistoric times almost throughout the then inhabited globe. It is useless to specify the time, for the bow and arrow existed earlier than any time of which we know; it is useless for us to specify places, for it was in use throughout the world wherever the world was occupied by neolithic man.

Imitative creature as was man, and slow and painful as were his steps in progress and in invention during his infancy on earth, when he knew nothing and had everything yet to learn, it is sufficiently wonderful that he should have invented the bow and arrow as a projectile machine for his weapons; but it becomes doubly and trebly improbable that he should have made duplicate and independent inventions thereof in the different hemispheres. If we are to suppose this, why should we be restricted to a separate invention for each hemisphere, and why may we not suppose that he made a separate invention for each country or each distant tribe within the hemisphere? Yet we are met with the astonishing but, nevertheless, true proposition that throughout the entire world the bow and arrow existed in the early times mentioned, and was substantially the same machine, made in the same way, and serving the same purpose.

CONCLUSION.

The argument in this paper on the migration of arts or symbols, and with them of peoples in prehistoric times, is not intended to be exhaustive. At best it is only suggestive.

There is no direct evidence available by which the migration of symbols, arts, or peoples in prehistoric times can be proved, because the events are beyond the pale of history. Therefore we are, everybody is, driven to the secondary evidence of the similarity of conditions and products, and we can only subject them to our reason and at last determine the truth from the probabilities. In proportion as the probabilities of migration increase, it more nearly becomes a demonstrated fact. It appears to the author that the probabilities of the migration of the Swastika to America from the Old World is infinitely greater than that it was an independent invention.

The Swastika is found in America in such widely separated places, among such different civilizations, as much separated by time as by space, that if we have to depend on the theory of separate inventions to explain its introduction into America we must also depend upon the same theory for its introduction into the widely separated parts of America. The Swastika of the ancient mound builders of Ohio and Tennessee is similar in every respect, except material, to that of the modern Navajo and Pueblo Indian. Yet the Swastikas of Mississippi and Tennessee belong to the oldest civilization we know in America, while the Navajo and Pueblo Swastikas were made by men still living. A consideration of the conditions bring out these two curious facts: (1) That the Swastika had an existence in America prior to any historic knowledge we have of communication between the two hemispheres; but (2) we find it continued in America and used at the present day, while the knowledge of it has long since died out in Europe.

The author is not unaware of the new theories concerning the parallelism of human development by which it is contended that absolute uniformity of man's thoughts and actions, aims and methods, is produced when he is in the same degree of development, no matter in what country or in what epoch he lives. This theory has been pushed until it has been said, nothing but geographical environment seems to modify the monotonous sameness of man's creations. The author does not accept this theory, yet he does not here controvert it. It may be true to a certain extent, but it surely has its limitations, and it is only applicable under special conditions. As a general proposition, it might apply to races and peoples but not to individuals. If it builds on the hereditary human instincts, it does not take into account the will, energy, and reasoning powers of man. Most of all, it leaves out the egoism of man and his selfish desire for power, improvement, and happiness, and all their effects, through the individual, on human progress. In the author's opinion the progress of peoples through consecutive stages of civilization is entirely compatible with his belief that knowledge of specific objects, the uses of material things, the performance of certain rites, the playing of certain games, the possession of certain myths and traditions, and the carrying on of certain industries, passed from one country to another by migration of their peoples, or by contact or communication between them; and that the knowledge, by separate peoples, of the same things, within reasonable bounds of simiilarity of action and purpose, and with corresponding difficulty of performance, may well be treated as evidence of such migration, contact, or communication. Sir John Lubbock expresses the author's belief when he says,[1] "There can be no doubt but that man originally crept over the earth's surface, little by little, year by year, just, for instance, as the weeds of Europe are now gradually but surely creeping over the surface of Australia." The word migration has been used by the author in any sense that permitted the people, or any number thereof, to pass from one country to another country, or from one section of a country to another section of the same country, by any means or in any numbers as they pleased or could.

The theory (in opposition to the foregoing) is growing in the United States that any similarity of culture between the two hemispheres is held to be proof of migration of peoples. It appears to the author that these schools both run to excess in propagating their respective theories, and that the true condition of affairs lies midway between them. That is to say, there was certain communication between the two hemispheres, as indicated by the similarities in culture and industry, the objects of which could scarcely have been the result of independent invention; while there are too many dissimilar arts, habits, customs, and modes of life belonging to one hemisphere only, not common to both, to permit us to say there was continuous communication between them. These dissimilarities were inventions of each hemisphere independent of the other.

An illustration of the migration to America is the culture of Greece. We know that Greek art and architecture enter into and form an important part of the culture of Americans of the present day; yet the people of America are not Greek, nor do they possess any considerable share of Greek culture or civilization. They have none of the blood of the Greeks, nor their physical traits, nor their manners, habits, customs, dress, religion, nor, indeed, anything except their sculpture and architecture. Now, there was undoubtedly communication between the two countries in so far as pertains to art and architecture; but it is equally true that there has been no migration of the other elements of civilization mentioned.

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[1] "Prehistoric Man," p. 601.

The same thing may be true with regard to the migrations of prehistoric civilization. There may have been communication between the countries by which such objects as the polished stone hatchet, the bow and arrow, the leaf-shaped implement, chipped arrow- and spear-heads, scrapers, spindle-whorls, the arts of pottery making, of weaving, of drilling and sawing stone, etc., passed from one to the other, and the same of the Swastika; yet these may all have been brought over in sporadic and isolated cases, importing simply the germ of their knowledge, leaving the industry to be independently worked out on this side. Certain manifestations of culture, dissimilar to those of the Old World, are found in America; we have the rude notched ax, the grooved ax, stemmed scraper, perforator, mortar and pestle, pipes, tubes, the ceremonial objects which are found here in such infinite varieties of shape and form, the metate, the painted pottery, etc., all of which belong to the American Indian civilization, but have no prototype in the prehistoric Old World. These things were never brought over by migration or otherwise. They are indigenous to America.

Objects common to both hemispheres exist in such numbers, of such infinite detail and difficulty of manufacture, that the probabilities of their migration or passage from one country to another is infinitely greater than that they were the result of independent invention. These common objects are not restricted to isolated cases. They are great in number and extensive in area. They have been the common tools and utensils such as might have belonged to every man, and no reason is known why they might not have been used by, and so represent, the millions of prehistoric individuals in either hemisphere. This great number of correspondences between the two hemispheres, and their similarity as to means and results is good evidence of migration, contact, or communication between the peoples; while the extent to which the common industries were carried in the two continents, their delicacy and difficulty of operation, completes the proof and forces conviction.

It is not to be understood in the few foregoing illustrations that the number is thereby exhausted, or that all have been noted which are within the knowledge of the author. These have been cited as illustrative of the proposition and indicating possibilities of the argument. If a completed argument in favor of prehistoric communication should be prepared, it would present many other illustrations. These could be found, not only among the objects of industry, utensils, etc., but in the modes of manufacture and of use which, owing to their number and the extent of territory which they cover, and the difficulty of accomplishment, would add force to the argument.

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III.—APPENDIX.

JAPAN. (See p. 799.)

S. D. Frey (Palatine Bridge, N. Y., April 27, 1897) encloses a mark on the side of an old Saki jar of Kioto ware, a swastika enclosed in a cross with four circles.

Miss E. R. Scidmore, the noted traveler and author, reports swastika marks in common use in Japan as a decoration. She very politely presented the author with a set of small Japanese teacups with a comparatively large swastika in heavy lines, ends bent indiscriminately right and left, on the side of each.

In the *Exposition de la musique au Palais d'industrie à Paris*, 1896, was a series of thirty fine instruments, Japanese; "On one, a sort of guitar, 'biwa sacrée,' a swastika is sculptured." Reported by Dr. Delish, "L'Anthropologie," 1896, vol. VII, No. 6, p. 728.

TIBET. (See p. 802.)

Hon. W. W. Rockhill (Department of State, December 26, 1896) calls

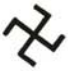
> Your [my] attention to the existence in Tibet of a religion, the name of which translated means "The Religion of the Swastika," and in which this sign plays a most important role. This religion, which is also known as the Bon Religion, is probably the modern form of the Pre-Buddhist Shaminism of Tibet. It has a voluminous literature, some few works of which have been translated into European languages, in which you will find many interesting references to this sign. Chinese works also contain numerous references and explanations of its meaning and origin.

INDIA. (See p. 802.)

General Lew Wallace, "Prince of India," vol. I, p. 263:

> "I am a Prince of India. * * * I began walk as a priest—a disciple of Siddartha—whom my Lord, of his great intelligence, will remember was born in Central India. Very early, on account of my skill in translating, I was called to China and there put to rendering the thirty-five discourses of the father of the Buddhisottwa into Chinese and Thibettan. I also published a version of the Lotus of the Good Law, and another of the Nirvâna. These brought me great honor. To an ancestor of mine, Maha Kashiapa, Buddha happened to have intrusted his innermost mysteries—that is, he made him Keeper of the Pure Secret of the Eye of Right Doctrine. Behold the symbol of that doctrine."
>
> The Prince drew a leaf of ivory, worn and yellow, from a pocket under his pelisse and passed it to Mahommed, saying, "Will my lord look?"

> Mahommed took the leaf, and in the silver sunk into it saw this sign:



> "I see," he said, gravely. "Give me its meaning."
>
> "Nay, my Lord, did I that, the doctrine of which, as successor of Kashiapa, though far removed, they made me Keeper—the very highest of Buddhistic honors—would then be no longer a secret. The symbol is of vast sanctity. There is never a genuine image of Buddha without it over his heart. It is the monogram of Vishnu and Siva, but as to its meaning I can only say every Brahmin of learning views it worshipfully, knowing it the compression of the whole mind of Buddha."

JAVA.

Mr. R. E. Martyr (letter of January 20, 1898) notifies of the occurrence of variations of the swastika occurring in Solo, a dialect of western Ssu-ch'uan, citing Baber's Travels in 1881; also a Journey in that country, by Mr. F. S. A. Bourne, Parliamentary Papers C. 5371/88, China No. 1, 1888.

AFRICA. (See p. 833.)

Felix von Luschan published (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, xxviii, fasc. 2, p. 138–'9; Berlin, 1896, 2 figs.) an account of a woman, Basundi, from the Valley Kuili, whose back was tattooed with swastikas, mostly in spirals, turning right and left. (Reviewed by Dr. L. Laboy in L'Anthropologie, vii, No. 5, 1896, p. 606.)

Dr. Von Luschan has published a later volume (Beitrage zur Volkerkünde der Deutschen Schutzgebiete; Berlin, 1897, pl. 46, p. 87) where he presents a mass of interesting material relating to various African tribes, notably the Massai, Swaheli, Togo, Camerüns, and the New Britains. Among the decorations is a well marked swastika (p. 46).

COPTOS, ACHMIM-PANOPOLIS. (See p. 834.)

R. Forrer, Strasbourg, Germany (March 7, 1897):

> At Achmim I found it [the swastika] in all forms, from the single cross to the most complicated, and on the Keltish coins of the Donau tribes.

CYPRUS. (See p. 839.)

General Cesnola (letter of December 23, 1896) remarks the frequency of the swastika mark on the mortuary pottery from Cyprus in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, of which he is director, and expresses his belief, from the evidence presented, that it was a symbol of death, or in some way related to death.

BRONZE AGE, ETRURIA. (See p. 855.)

Prof. H. W. Haynes, Boston, takes exception to the author's statement that hut-urns belonged to the Bronze Age (letter of February 9, 1898). He supposes that the author has depended on the opinion of Lanciana (Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries, pp. 29, 33; and Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome, p. 112). He has reviewed this in a letter to the "Nation" (January 24, 1889), in which "I showed clearly that he is in error in this conclusion and that the hut-urns belong to the Early Iron Age." He says all European archæologists (except Lanciana) put them, the hut-urns, in the Early Iron Age. Pigorini (Bullettino di paletnologia, XII, 262): "Tutte le necropole della quali urne cineraire (a capana) sono uscite, appartengono al comminciare della prima eta del ferrocommunimento detto de Villanova." Chantre: "Necropoles Hallstattiennes de l'Italie de l'Autriche," Materiaux, XVIII, 3. "Le civilization hallstattienne est posterieur à ces establissements, que appartiennent pour la plupart a l'age de Bronze. Corneto (Tarquinia) necropole remonte à la periode prehistorique appellée par less Italiens, Ombrienne, epoque qui parait correspondre à l'Aurore du premier age du fer, ou époque Hallstattienne," p. 3. "Les tombes à puits, les plus abondants, manquent dans le necropole de Corneto, la periode la plus archaique * * * Elles paraissent pouvoir si rapporter à la periode de Villanova à Bologne * * * qui indiquient la periode la plus primitive de la civilization du premier age du fer," p. 4, and, referring to the author's statement at the bottom of page 859, "I do not think the age of 'Villanova' is now contested by the ablest Italian archæologists" as being in the First Age of Iron. Prof. Heilbig, "Guide to the Collection of Classical Antiquities in Rome," II, 267, speaking of primitive Italian urns in form of huts: "The great antiquity of these vessels, which date from the beginning of the First Iron Age (circa 8th century B. C.)," etc.

To these authorities the author adds Montelius. (Jour. Anthrop. Institute Great Britain and Ireland, vol. XXVI, No. 3, February, 1897, pl. 6, and "Charts of Northern and Central Italy.") The author was interested in finding the swastika on the "hut-urns," and did not go into the question of their exact chronology. As those here cited believe the Iron Age began in that country from 800 to 1100 B. C., that date is of sufficient antiquity for the swastika on "hut-urns."

The author states (p. 857) that "he (Dr. Schliemann) appears unable, in 'Ilios,' to cite any instances of the swastika being found on the hut-urns in connection with the 'burning-altar' sign." Professor Haynes doubts this statement and refers to "Ilios," p. 350, note 7. (Letter of February 9, 1898).

Sven Söderberg, Lund, Sweden, letter of January 27, 1897, says:

> This (the Torcello spear-head, fig. 204, p. 865) is a forgery. I have seen it in the Torcello Museum. It is a copy of the iron spear-head of Muncheberg in Branden-

burg (your fig. 201), which no doubt belonged to some Gothic tribe settled in these environs in the fourth century.

Count Goblet d'Alviella (Migrations, etc., p. 36; Les Migrations des, etc., p. 46) attributes the specimen (the author's fig. 223) to a tumulus of the Bronze Age, on the authority of de Mortillet (La Croix, etc., Paris, fig. 76), but Professor Haynes (letter of March 12, 1898) says de Mortillet does not so specify.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA. (See p. 862.)

Judge Wenchelas Fiedorowicz, of Witebsk, Russia, reports by letter, under date of April 28–May 10, 1897, that he found at Witebsk, in the deposits of the river Wit'ba (a branch of the Dwina), a prehistoric bronze ring ornamented with a swastika. A Polish writer, Piekosinski, author of "La dinastique origine de la noblesse polonaise," gives the marks on their arms, among which are the normal cross, the swastika, and others. Another Polish author, Bolsounowski, writing on "Les plombes de Drohicsyne" (the leaden [images] of Drohicsyne), reports leaden images from the deposits of the river "Boug occidentale," many of which bear the swastika mark, which causes him to suppose that it was employed by the peoples between the rivers Oder and Dwina—that is, within the limits of ancient Poland.

Mr. Charles Seidler, of 46 Eyot Gardens, Hammersmith, W., London, England, reports a swastika on a silver ring from a Frankish grave near Weissenthurm, quoted from "Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit," Lindenschmit, vol. I, pt. II, pl. VIII, No. 1.

FRANCE. (See p. 869.)

Letter from Paul du Chatelier, Chateau de Kernuz, Pont l'Abbé, Finistère, March 27, 1897, reports finding a "milirary borne" 3 kilom. from his chateau, "fin du bronze," or beginning of "age de fer," with swastika engraved on it—the most western example in Europe.

Marie De Man, of Middleburg, Netherlands, published a pamphlet in 1898,* wherein she reports the swastika sign in the field as a sort of mint mark on the coins of Pepin le Bref (quoting and copying from the Bulletin de Numismatique et d'Archæologie, t. iii, pl. v, No. 9; t. iv, p. 149, and Catalogue des Monnaies Carlovingienness, p. II, Paris, 1896: Maurice Prou). The rest of her pamphlet is a favorable review of "The Swastika" paper.

ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD. (See p. 870.)

Professor Haynes (letter of March 12, 1898): "It (the swastika) appears on altars of the Romano-British period, found along the line of the

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* Tijdschrift van het Nederlandisch Genootschap voor Munt—en Penningkunde: Onuitgegeven varieteit van een denarius van Pepijn den Korte en het Swastika of hakenhruis. Amsterdam: G. Theor. Bom en Zoon, 1898, pp. 1–16.

Roman wall in Northumberland." See Bruce's "Descriptive Catalogue of Antiquities at Alnwick Castle," p. 158. Professor Haynes' article in "Science," II, p. 137. F. Madden, F. R. S., Archæologia, vol. 24, 1832, tells of the discovery of a set (57) of chessmen found in a sand bank on the Isle of Lewes, Scotland. On the back of the bishop's robes and on the sides of the chairs in which some of the figures sit are carved forms of the swastika, in one or two instances very clearly defined. The pieces are of early Norse workmanship and are supposed to have been washed up from an old wreck. The article is well illustrated. At the end of the volume are illustrations of Cædmon's Anglo-Saxon Paraphrase of the Bible. Forms of the swastika occur in one of the border decorations.

Mr. Charles Seidler reports (Collectionia Antiqua, 1857) a Swastika on a Roman Samian bowl found at Colchester.

MOUNDS IN GEORGIA. (After p. 893.)

Mr. Clarence B. Moore, 1321 Locust street, Philadelphia, Pa., May 28, 1897, tells of a piece of earthenware from a low mound on Ossabou island, Ga., with raised decoration, having an indefinite resemblance to swastika.

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS, KICKAPOOS. (See p. 895.)

Letter from Miss Owen, St. Joseph, Mo., January 2, 1897:

> There is an old Kickapoo Indian, named Squash, on the Jackson reservation (Kansas) who has a silver brooch almost as large as a soup plate with the swastika cut on it.

PUEBLOS. (See p. 896.)

Mr. Will C. Ferril, curator State Historical and Natural History Society, Denver, Colo. (September 7, 1897), writes:

> Among the most interesting vessels in this collection of Cliff-Dweller pottery is a bowl ornamented with fourteen swastikas.

COLONIAL PATCHWORK. (See p. 901.)

Letter of Alice Morse Earle, April 24, 1897, 242 Henry street, Brooklyn, N. Y., calls attention to the quilt pattern of colonial times, same as fig. 259, which she calls "Catch-if-you-can."

Swastika sign represented by buff brick set in red on the gable of the Jewish synagogue, Charleston, W. Va. Reported by W. W. Edwards, May 6, 1897.

MEXICO. (Following p. 901.)

Mons. E. Boban, 18 rue Thibaud, Paris, sends pp. 65–72 of his Catalogue *raisonnée* of the Collection Goupil, showing existence of swastika in Mexico. Small vase or bowl (caxitl) with three feet (*ecuelle monté sur trois pied*). Height, 45 mm.; diam., 9 cm.; color, red brick designs on rouge brique sur fond blanc rosé (Coll. Goupil). The interior is ornamented with concentric lines, between which are four swastikas, alternated with four hieroglyphs.

Prof. H. J. Gosse, director of the Archæological Museum of Geneva, Switzerland, calls attention to a Mexican MS., by Boulier, shown him by Madam Zelia Nuttal, wherein the swastika appears in peculiar forms. One similar to figs. 237, 238, and 222, reported by Boulier (pp. 24, 43, 356), as the conventional sign of gold; another (p. 34), similar to my fig. 260 (p. 902), is reported as the sign of the four winds; still another (pp. 49 and 50), a cross similar to the Maltese, is reported as a symbol of the god of winds; again, in the cycle of fifty-two years, the sun is said to be represented, by a pseudo swastika, not a true cross, or if a swastika, with very short bent arms.

Buddha in Mexico. (See pl. 10.)

Prof. F. W. Putnam reports having found in the jungles of Honduras a large stone sculptured after the usual Central American style. The large central sitting figure has much ornamentation of the same style, but the legs are crossed, the feet brought up, the arms hang down from the shoulders, with extended forearm and outspread palm, all in the usual attitude of Buddha, which it greatly resembles.

A seated figure with legs crossed, in the position of Buddha, from Mexico, is in the museum at Berlin, and figured in Monuments del Arte Mexicano Antiqua, by Peñafiel, plate 306.

Criticisms, Book Notices, and Observations.

Prof. A. H. Sayce, Queen's College, Oxford (August 16, 1897):

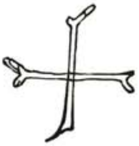
"I have just finished the study of your most exhaustive work on the swastika. Nothing seems to have escaped your notice. The volume is an archæological treasure-house. You have put all the materials together in it once for all. The wealth of illustration leaves nothing to be desired. The archæologist now has before him all the facts that exist relating to the swastika."

Mr. Arthur Evans, Tunis (February 13, 1897):

"Your letter finds me in Africa. I shall be very glad to see your work on the swastika. Your theory is very interesting, and I shall look forward to the perusal of your pages. That the swastika may originate in more ways than one, I am convinced. * * * All I am concerned to show is that it spread, in the case in question, from a common center over a contiguous geographical area. Reinach, in *Anthropologie*, calls this theory "Monogenist." It is not "Monogenist," but historical, and if I read the general course of anthropological research aright, this *historical* aspect is destined to come more and more to the fore. The question is not how such a phenomena may have arisen and spread, but how in the individual case it did."

MEMORANDUM BY THE AUTHOR.—The origin of the swastika is a question relating to prehistorics. Its migration may be partly prehistoric and partly historic. The tracing of its migrations in the manner suggested by Mr. Evans was one of the aims of this work. The author sought to show, *first*, that the "phenomena" did *arise* and *spread*, this even in a general way; but, second, he aimed to show how it did this in the individual or particular case or country. This has been done or attempted wherever it was known. The tracing from country to country is not easy; most times the evidence is lost in antiquity, but the assistance of scholars and students, classical and archæological, historic and prehistoric, is invoked for the accomplishment of this end.

Mr. Rudyard Kipling writes to Secretary Langley from Maidencombe, March 8, 1897:



"I have to thank you very much for Mr. Wilson's monograph on the 'Swastika,' which came to hand a few days ago. It is a matter of which I take a good deal of interest, and, after reading it, I have sent it on to my father. My own heretical view is that the swastika was almost the first pattern evoluted by primitive man, on the first occasion on which he stepped on two twigs crossed in the mud and the buds at each end indicated the turnover at the ends something like this. There are those who will see a mystic symbolism in every single chance-found detail of design. Wilson, I am thankful to see, does not refer everything to phallic regulation, as some of our men on this side do." * * *

W. Crooke, B. A., Wimbledon, England:

"It is a most valuable treatise on and a summary of a most important chapter in primitive art. It is a pleasure to see that the investigation of ancient symbolism has at last fallen into competent hands. Hitherto it has been the playground of mere theorists, who have contributed little to the solution of the difficult problems which it involves."

Mr. V. R. Gandhi tells me after the publication of this work, that on his return to England, while studying ancient Sanscrit philosophies in the British Museum library, he found the word "suavastika" in connection with swastika. (See Swastika, p. 767.)

Another form of Nandâvartaya, equally or more complicated, was given me by Mr. Gandhi. (See Swastika, p. 774.)

Owen Jones' Grammar of Ornament reproduces varieties of Greek-frets, of course in bands, as required by that ornament. Some of them are formed of two continuous lines, which, crossing each other at inter vals, make patterns resembling the swastika, and which, if standing alone, would pass for it.

Since the publication of "The Swastika" the author has written another work on "Prehistoric Art," and his investigations in that field have developed the remarkable fact that (in Europe) despite the thousands of decorative designs, mostly geometric, invented and used by prehistoric man throughout the Paleolithic, Neolithic, and Bronze ages, practically neither cross nor circle was employed. The few times a sign is used having a résemblance to either, it is in a secondary and incidental manner, as, for example, on cup stones for the circle and a conjunction of Vandyke points for the cross.

In a criticism on the "Swastika" (Bull. Acad. Royal des Sciences, etc., de Belgique, 1897, No. 5, pp. 478–'80), Count Goblet d'Alviella adheres to his former opinion of its use as a sign for the sun or of astronomical movement. To this the author replies that it may have been, though in his opinion the evidence fails in entire conviction.

American Antiquarian (March, 1897, vol. XIX, No. 2, pp. 116–120) contains an extended review of "Swastika," with illustrations.

Rev. T. J. Shahan made an extensive and favorable review of the "Swastika" in the Catholic University Bulletin, January, 1897, vol. III, No. 1, pp. 108–111.

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William Wells Newell in Journal of American Folk-lore. Vol. x, No. 37, 1897, p. 166.

Michel de Zmigrodski in Correspondenz-Blatt der Deutchen Anthropologischen Gesellschaft. Nr. 11, u. 12, 1897. (Bericht der XXVIII allgemeinem Versammlung in Lubek.) Pp. 165–168.

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ERRATA.

Page 879.—Fifth line under *Fain's Island*, &c., should be Dandridge instead of Bainbridge.

Figures 241 and 242.—Legend, Etowah instead of Entowah.

Figure 256.—Legend, 2d Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol., should be fig. 562, instead of to 526.

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